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ABSTRACT

Part of a larger project, "The U.S. and the USSR: Choices for the 21st Century," that is aimed at developing curricular materials for use at the secondary, undergraduate, and adult education levels, this book helps high school students to think through some of the complex issues surrounding U.S.-Soviet relations and the nuclear arms race as the United States enters the twenty-first century. By presenting four alternative "futures" for U.S.-Soviet relations in 2010, this book helps students consider what policies the United States should follow in the years ahead. The four images presented of the United States in the year 2010 are called: (1) "The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand"; (2) "Eliminate the Nuclear Threat, Compete Otherwise"; (3) "Cooperative Problem Solving"; and (4) "Defend Only North America." Students also are asked to create a "Future 5." The book also provides a history of U.S.-Soviet relations. A glossary, with small maps, is included. (AS)

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Looking to the Future

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Center for Foreign Policy Development

Brown University

AMERICA, THE SOVIETS AND NUCLEAR ARMS:

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

A project of the Center for Foreign Policy Development

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About this Book

The purpose of this book is to help high school students think through some of the difficult issues of U.S.-Soviet relations and the nuclear arms race as America enters the 21st century. By presenting four alternative "Futures" for U.S.-Soviet relations in 2010, this book will help students consider what policies they think the U.S. should follow in the years ahead.

This book is part of a larger project, *The U.S. and the USSR: Choices for the 21st Century.* The project includes development of curricular materials for use at the secondary, undergraduate, and adult education levels. This project is based upon an earlier three-year research project, *The Public, the Soviets, and Nuclear Arms,* conducted jointly by the Center for Foreign Policy Development at Brown University and the Public Agenda Foundation.

We encourage students to develop additional Futures of their own that are both imaginative and realistic.

Susan Graseck
Project Director

The Center for Foreign Policy Development was established at Brown University in 1981 to develop -- through interaction among specialists, elected officials and the public -- policies for dealing with nuclear weapons and the Soviet Union that most effectively serve the interests of the United States.

The Center is affiliated with the Institute for International Studies at Brown University, and is supported by private contributions, foundation grants and Brown University. The Chair of the Board of Advisors is Thomas J. Watson, Jr., former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union and Chairman Emeritus of the IBM Corporation.

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AMERICA, THE SOVIETS AND NUCLEAR ARMS:

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

by Karl Berger

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THE FOUR FUTURES: THE CHOICE IS YOURS

We face today a life-or-death issue: How can we avoid nuclear war with the Soviets while preserving our American way of life?

It is a tough issue. Citizens disagree, politicians disagree, and even the experts disagree about what we should do. You and your classmates may disagree too.

The creators of this book believe that this issue is too important to leave unanswered or to leave to politicians and experts alone. In our democracy, all Americans, young and old, must think this problem through if we are going to head toward the kind of future we want.

But what kind of a future should we head toward?

A look into the future

In the coming days, you will be challenged to answer this question. To help you do this you will look at four different images of the future, four visions of our country in the year 2010. These four "Futures" were created to help Americans think through the difficult issues the U.S. faces in deciding how it should deal with the Soviet Union and the threat of nuclear war. In each of these "Futures," our relationship with the Soviets has changed dramatically.

Each Future offers a different answer to how we can avoid nuclear war with the Soviets while preserving the democracy and freedom that we value. In each of the four Futures, we have prevented nuclear war and America is still free and democratic. In each of these Futures we have also done our part to protect the environment and deal with any other global problems that threaten all countries.

The Futures

The four images of the U.S. in the year 2010 are called:

Future 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand

Future 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

Future 3: Cooperative Problem Solving

Future 4: Defend Only North America

As you read them through, keep in mind that the Futures are **not** predictions about what will happen by 2010. The Futures are also not necessarily what the experts think should happen. They are only some examples of possible goals the U.S. could try to reach over the next twenty years. However, Americans disagree about which one is the best.

Your job

Your job is to decide which Future **you** think is the best. As you read through the Futures, you should consider:

1. What is good about this Future?

2. What is bad or dangerous about it?

3. Would working toward this Future prevent nuclear war?

4. Would this Future preserve American values, such as democracy and freedom?

5. Does this Future deal with any worries you might have about the Soviets?

6. Does this Future deal with the threats you see facing our country today?

7. Even if this Future sounds good, can it really work?

After reading and discussing the four Futures, you may be asked to "vote" for the Future you think our country should work toward. This is not easy. Keep in mind that none of these Futures is perfect. Each one has many possible advantages and disadvantages. As with all plans we make for the future, none of the four Futures is free of risk. When you vote, keep in mind that there is no right or wrong Future. Public opinion research around the nation has shown that each of these Futures has the support of large numbers of Americans.

See what you think of each of the Futures. Give them all a "fair shake" before you decide which ones you like and don't like. You may like one Future, you may like them all a little bit, or you may not like any of them. You may want to come up with a "Future 5" that shows how **you** think we can avoid nuclear war and preserve our American values in the years ahead.

Before you begin

You do not need to be an expert to understand the four Futures and decide which one you think is best. In fact, you are not expected to know anything about the Soviet Union or the nuclear arms race before reading this book. But in order to make a good decision, you should become more familiar with what has happened between the U.S. and the Soviet Union over the past 50 years.

Read through the brief history on the following pages. Then examine the timeline on pages 14 and 15. As you read through the four Futures, keep in mind what you know has happened between the two countries in the past.

By the end of this book, you will have a better idea about what kind of future you think our country should head toward, and how we might get there. And you will be doing your part in helping our nation decide how it should face the challenges of the 21st century.

AMERICA, THE SOVIETS, AND NUCLEAR ARMS

A Brief History

The U.S. and the Soviets in World War II

During World War II (1939-1945), Hitler's Germany attacked the Soviet Union and most of Europe, and Japan attacked the U.S. at Pearl Harbor. In order to defeat both Germany and Japan, the U.S. joined forces and became *allies* with the Soviet Union and Great Britain. By the end of the war, Europe and Japan were in ruins, and the U.S. and the Soviets were left as the two strongest countries on earth, the "superpowers."

The superpowers after World War II

The U.S. and the Soviets didn't stay allies for very long after the war. Even though the superpowers had worked together, they didn't trust each other. The U.S. and the Soviet Union had very different ideas about the future of the post-war world. The Soviets believed that countries around the world should become *communist* like the *USSR.* Americans, on the

Newlyweds in front of the Kremlin

The Soviet Union

The Soviet Union has over 285 million citizens and more land than any other country in the world. In territory it is almost two and a half times the size of the United States. Most, but not all, of the Soviet Union today was once the country of Russia, which was governed for centuries by Russian rulers known as tsars. In 1917, Russian communists took control of the country and renamed it the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics," or USSR. Since then, the Communist Party has controlled the schools, the workplace, and many other parts of Soviet life. Until recently the government has harassed or even imprisoned citizens who have tried to leave the country or have spoken out against the system. Under its current leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, the USSR has become somewhat more open and democratic. However, the Soviet Union's past makes many Americans uncertain about trusting these changes.

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allies: Nations that have pledged to protect each other if attacked or threatened.

communist: Describes a system in which a country's government controls most industry and business, and owns most property. The Soviet Union is controlled by the Communist Party, which supports this system.

USSR: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the formal name of the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Union in Europe (Since 1939)

other hand, believed that communism was wrong and that all countries around the world should be *capitalist* and *democratic* like the U.S., and should protect their citizens' individual freedoms (such as freedom of speech).

The Soviets not only kept their soldiers and weapons in Eastern Europe, but they forced the governments of these countries (such as East Germany, Hungary, and Poland) to become communist. Over the years, these governments have been controlled by the Soviet government.

When the Soviets didn't leave Eastern Europe, the U.S. and its allies in Western Europe (such as Great Britain, France, and Italy) grew afraid that the Soviet Union might use its military power to take over Western Europe as well. As a result, in 1949 the U.S. and its allies formed a powerful military alliance to protect Western Europe from attack. This alliance is known as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization *(NATO)*. NATO members have pledged

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capitalist: Describes an economic system based on private ownership of business, industry, and property.

democratic: Describes a system in which the citizens of a country control their government by electing representatives and a chief executive. The United States and most, but not all, of its allies are democracies.

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO members include the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Norway, Spain, and six other European nations.

to protect each other if attacked or threatened. Since 1949, West Germany and other European countries have joined NATO. In response, the Soviet Union and its allies in Eastern Europe formed their own military alliance, known as the *Warsaw Pact.*

The Cold War continues

Since this time, the superpowers have been rivals, competing with each other for influence around the world. But while they have spent huge amounts of money defending themselves and their allies, they have never fought each other in a war. That is why this rivalry has been called the "Cold War."

Over the years, NATO and the Warsaw Pact have both built up large numbers of troops, tanks, guns, and aircraft in Europe. The U.S. today has over 300,000 soldiers stationed in Western Europe, and spends nearly $100 billion a year on defending its allies there. The Soviet Union has over 500,000 soldiers stationed in Eastern Europe.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union have also been competing in the rest of the world, particularly in the countries of the *Third World*. For decades now, both sides have supported Third World

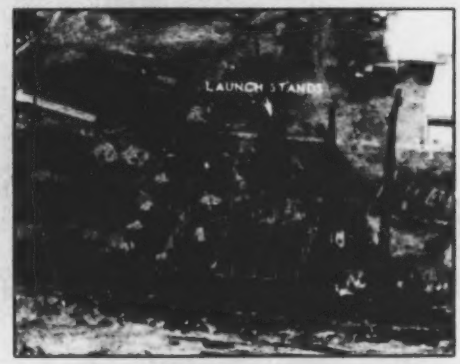
East German soldier escaping to West Berlin during the building of the Wall

The Building of the Berlin Wall: August 1961

After World War II, Germany was split up into West Germany (which became a U.S. ally) and East Germany (which became a Soviet ally). The German capital of Berlin was also divided into East and West Berlin, even though it was in the middle of East Germany. In the 1940s and 50s, thousands of East Germans fled to democratic West Berlin to escape communism. During that time, the Soviets often tried to pressure the U.S. and its allies into giving up West Berlin, but the U.S. always stood by the city. Then, without warning, on August 13, 1961, East German soldiers began building a high, guarded wall around West Berlin, which to this day prevents East Germans from leaving their country.

Warsaw Pact: A military alliance made up of the Soviet Union, East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

Third World: A name given to most of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. Many Third World countries are extremely poor.



Photograph of Cuban missile base taken from U.S. spy plane

The Cuban Missile Crisis: October 1962

In the Cuban Missile Crisis, the world came as close as it has ever come to a nuclear war. It began when the U.S. discovered that the Soviet Union had secretly put nuclear missiles in Cuba, an island only 90 miles off the coast of Florida. President John F. Kennedy demanded that the missiles be removed. The Soviets refused, and for days a nuclear war seemed quite possible. Kennedy remained firm, and finally the Soviets agreed to remove the missiles if the U.S. promised not to invade Cuba.

governments that are their friends. The superpowers have also sent weapons, money, and sometimes their own troops to help weaken or overthrow governments that are on the other's side.

The nuclear arms race

The United States built the first atomic bombs in 1945, and used them to destroy Hiroshima and Nagasaki, two Japanese cities, to end World War II. Afterwards, the U.S. decided to build some more nuclear weapons. Americans thought their nuclear weapons would keep the USSR from attacking the U.S. if the Soviets knew the weapons could destroy their country. This approach, which tries to prevent, or "deter" the Soviets from attacking the U.S., is known as "deterrence." Since that time, deterrence has been America's main nuclear strategy.

Nuclear missile being launched by a U.S. submarine

Nuclear Weapons

Nuclear weapons are the most destructive weapons that have ever been built. The splitting of radioactive atoms inside a nuclear bomb can create an explosion a thousand times brighter than the sun. The only two atomic bombs ever used in a war were dropped by the U.S. on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Although these bombs were powerful enough to kill over a quarter of a million people and leave many more badly wounded, some of today's nuclear weapons are much more powerful. Both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have built thousands of nuclear weapons to try to prevent other counrries from attacking them. The superpowers keep their nuclear weapons in bomber airplanes, in missiles stored above and underground, and on submarines and ships at sea.

The U.S. Enters the Vietnam War: 1964

U.S. helicopter on duty in Vietnam

Since the late 1950s North Vietnam, a communist country in southeast Asia, had been fighting a war against South Vietnam, its neighbor and a U.S. ally. U.S. leaders feared that if South Vietnam lost and became communist, other neighboring countries would eventually turn communist as well. After Vietnamese gunboats fired on U.S. ships in 1964, the U.S. started sending thousands of troops to help the South Vietnamese army defend the country from attack. But by the late 1960s, the war had grown extremely unpopular at home and among America's European allies, so the U.S. slowly began to pull out its troops. The Vietnam War ended in 1975 when the North Vietnamese army took over Saigon, the South Vietnamese capital. Costing over $200 billion and 58,000 American lives, the Vietnam War was the only war the U.S. ever lost.

But soon after the war the Soviets started building atomic bombs of their own. Since then, the U.S. and the Soviet Union have built more and more nuclear weapons, in a nuclear arms race. The superpowers now have roughly 25,000 nuclear weapons each, enough to destroy the world many times over. To this day, each side continues to build more.

The 1970s: Relations get better, then worse

In communist *China* in 1972, U.S. and Chinese leaders met and agreed that although their two countries had been enemies for many years, they would both work to improve relations. Since that time, relations with communist China have improved, and today Americans no longer fear the Chinese will use their nuclear weapons against the U.S.

Around the same time, many Americans were hoping that relations with the Soviet Union would also improve. In 1972, the superpowers signed agreements to help reduce the danger that they might one day fight a nuclear war. They also agreed to work together to lower the tensions between them created by the Cold War, and called this new policy "détente" ("day-TAHNT").

China: The Peoples' Republic of China, the largest and most populous country in Southeast Asia, with over one billion people. Although China has had a communist government since 1949, it is not an ally of the Soviet Union.

However, the nuclear arms race continued, and so did the superpowers' competition for influence in the Third World. Tensions between the two countries slowly grew again. In 1979, when the Soviet Union invaded *Afghanistan,* a Third World country on their border, many Americans were angry at the Soviets. The years of détente were over.

America and the Soviets in the 1980s

In 1980, Americans elected a new president, Ronald Reagan, a strong anti-communist who believed that the U.S. military should be stronger and that America should try harder to fight communism around the world. As president, Ronald Reagan spent more money on weapons and soldiers than any president before him since World War II. He gave weapons and money to anti-communist rebels fighting in Afghanistan and other countries. He also proposed the controversial *"Star Wars"* plan that would research ways of protecting the U.S. from a nuclear attack. The Soviets said that Reagan's policies were threatening, and relations between the superpowers worsened.

In 1985, a new leader -- Mikhail Gorbachev -- emerged in the Soviet Union. Since then, the Soviets have appeared to act differently. In 1989 they took their soldiers out of Afghanistan, and in 1987 Reagan and Gorbachev signed the *INF Treaty*, which eliminated a small number of nuclear weapons. Ronald Reagan held four *summit* meetings with the Soviet leader between 1985 and 1988.

Today, America faces some tough decisions. The Soviets now say they want to cooperate more with the U.S. and the rest of the world. In his country, Gorbachev has allowed Soviet citizens more freedom, and has made the government of the USSR somewhat more democratic. In Eastern Europe, the Soviets have greatly loosened their control over these countries. Some Americans have said that these and other changes mean the Cold War is finally ending. But is this true? Is the Cold War really over? Can we stop the nuclear arms race? Should we?

Afghanistan: A south Asian nation bordering the Soviet Union. In 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan and set up a pro-Soviet government. The U.S. has provided guns and money to Afghan rebel forces who have been trying to overthrow the government. In early 1989, the Soviets withdrew their troops from Afghanistan.

"Star Wars": Also known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (or SDI), a controversial plan to research ways of shooting down incoming nuclear missiles from outer space if the U.S. is under attack. Critics say the plan is dangerous and expensive. Supporters say it will make America safer.

INF Treaty: The Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty, signed in December 1987, which eliminated 859 U.S. and 1,941 Soviet nuclear weapons from Europe.

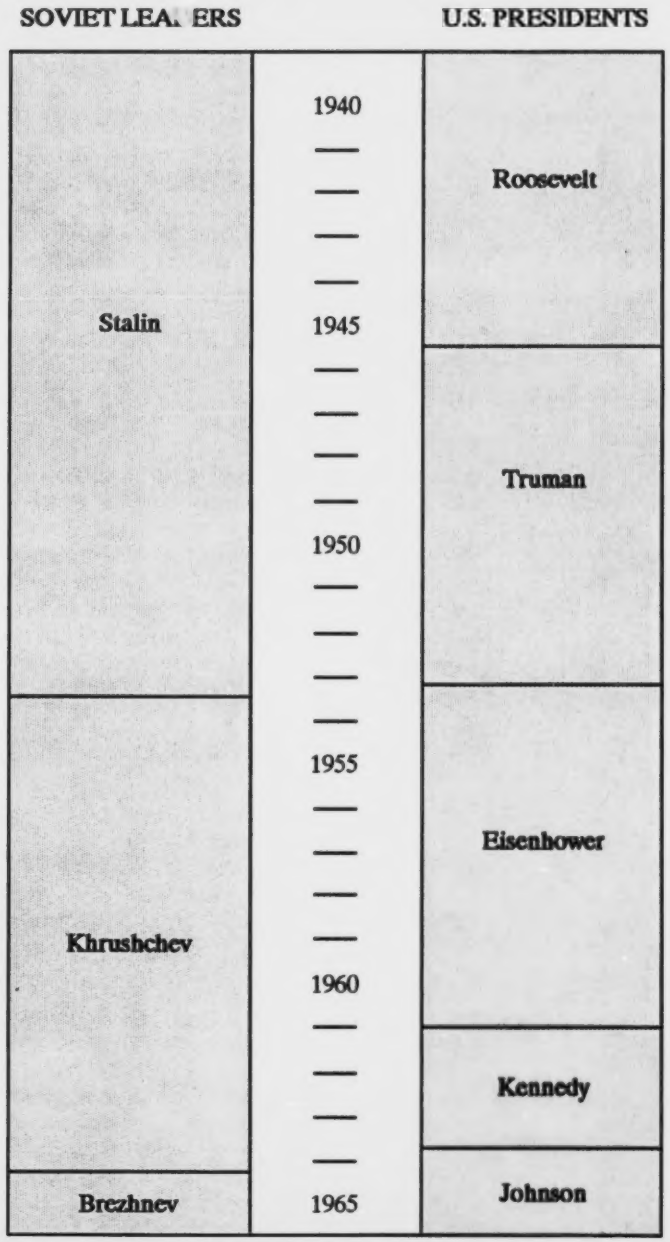
summit: An official meeting between the leaders of two or more countries.

The U.S. and the Soviet Union: 1941-2010

Important dates in the history of their relations since World War II

1961: The building of the Berlin Wall.

Since the end of World War II, the Soviet Union had pressured the U.S. and its allies to give up the democratic city of West Berlin, which is located in the heart of communist-controlled East Germany. However, the U.S. had always stood by the city. To prevent East Germans from escaping to West Berlin, East German troops in 1961 built a heavily guarded wall around the city. The Wall still stands today.



1941-1945: U.S. and Soviet Union join forces in World War II.

When Nazi Germany invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the U.S. supplied the Soviets with weapons and aid. Then the U.S. entered the war a few months later and the two countries became allies (along with Great Britain and other countries) and together defeated Germany and Japan. After the war, however, relations between the superpowers quickly soured and the Cold War began.

1949: NATO military alliance forms.

Concerned by the Soviet takeover of Eastern Europe, most of the Western European nations, as well as the U.S. and Canada, formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). NATO countries pledged to defend each other if attacked or threatened. The Soviet Union and its allies formed a similar alliance in 1955, called the Warsaw Pact. The U.S. is still a NATO member, and has over 300,000 troops stationed in Western Europe.

1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis.

When the U.S. discovered that the Soviets had secretly placed nuclear missiles on the island of Cuba, a Soviet ally only 90 miles off the Florida coast, President Kennedy demanded that they remove the missiles. The Soviets refused. After a tense face-off, the Soviets backed down and removed the missiles. The superpowers have never come closer to nuclear war.

1972: U.S. and Soviet leaders agree to a policy of "détente."

In 1972, U.S. and Soviet leaders agreed to work together to lower the tensions the Cold War had created between them, and called this new policy "détente." However, the agreements signed did not stop the arms race or end the superpowers' competition for influence in the Third World. Later, tensions grew again between the two countries. When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, the U.S. declared détente a failure.

1979: Soviet troops invade Afghanistan.

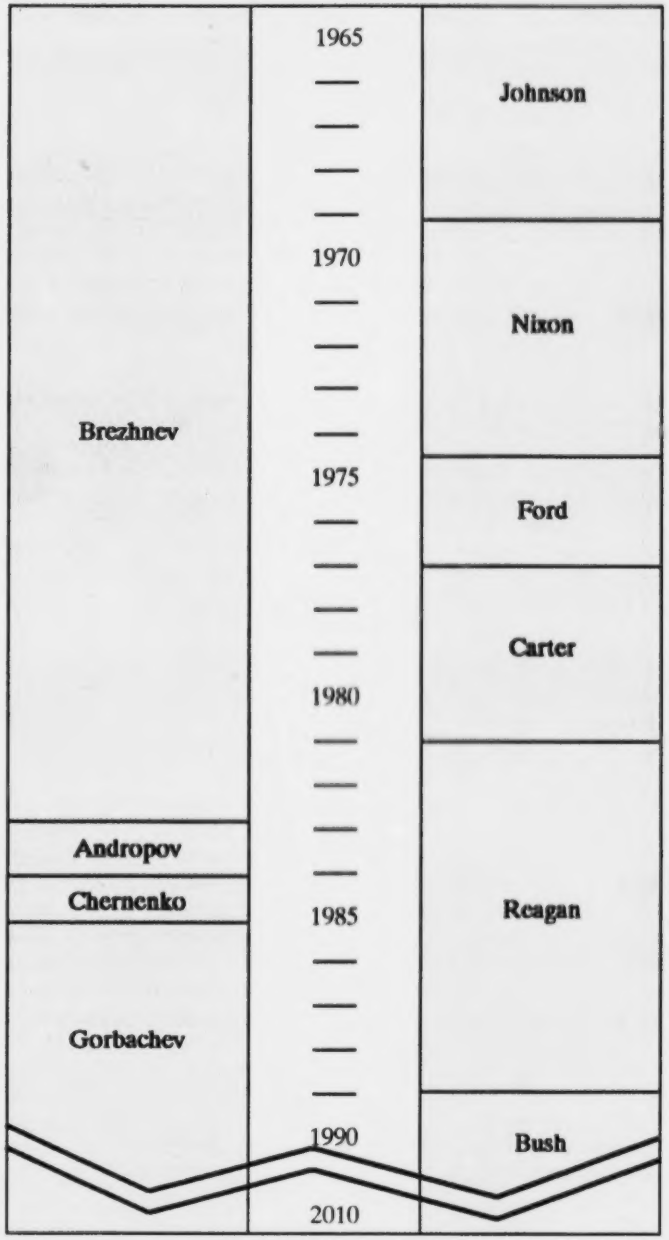
In 1979, Soviet troops invaded this south Asian nation and set up a pro-Soviet government. In response, the U.S. provided guns and money to anti-communist rebels trying to overthrow the government. In early 1989, the Soviets withdrew all their troops from Afghanistan.

1985: Mikhail Gorbachev becomes the leader of the Soviet Union.

As leader of the USSR, Gorbachev has made the Soviet government more democratic, allowed Soviet citizens more freedom and called for an end to the Cold War.

1987: Superpowers sign the INF Treaty.

In December 1987, the superpowers signed the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty. The treaty eliminated 859 U.S. and 1,941 Soviet nuclear weapons from Europe.



1964-1973: U.S. troops fight in the Vietnam War.

In 1964, the U.S. started sending troops to the Asian country of South Vietnam to support it in its war against communist North Vietnam. Although there were a half million U.S. troops in Vietnam by 1968, there was still no end to the war in sight, and the war had grown very unpopular at home. In 1969, the U.S. began withdrawing its troops. The last ones left in 1973. North Vietnam took over South Vietnam in 1975. Today Vietnam is still a Soviet ally.

1972: U.S. and communist China work successfully to improve their relationship.

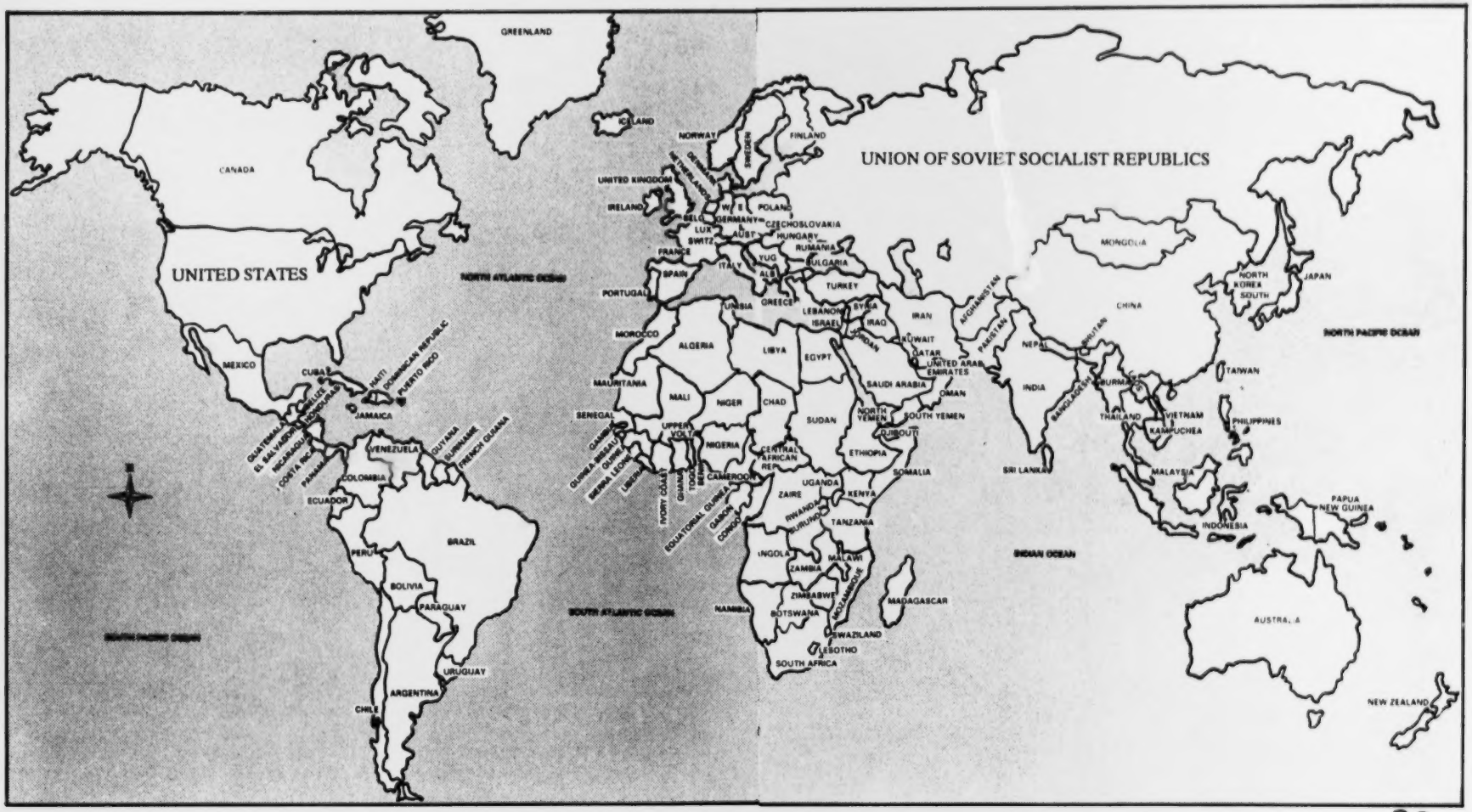
For a long time, the U.S. had considered communist China a powerful enemy. But in 1972, leaders from both countries met and agreed that while their countries had great differences, they also had common interests. Since then, U.S. relations with China have improved.

1983: President Reagan proposes the "Star Wars" program.

In an address to the nation, President Ronald Reagan proposed a controversial military plan for protecting the United States from nuclear attack. It was called the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) or "Star Wars." In the "Star Wars" plan, the U.S. would research ways of shooting down incoming nuclear missiles from outer space if the U.S. is attacked. Critics have said the plan is dangerous and expensive. Supporters have said it will make America safer.

1989: George Bush is inaugurated as the 41st U.S. President.

THE WORLD


GREENLAND
ICELAND
CANADA
UNITED STATES
NORTH ATLANTIC OCEAN
NORWAY
FINLAND
SWEDEN
UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS
UNITED KINGDOM
IRELAND
NETHERLANDS
BELG.
LUX.
W. GERMANY
E. GERMANY
POLAND
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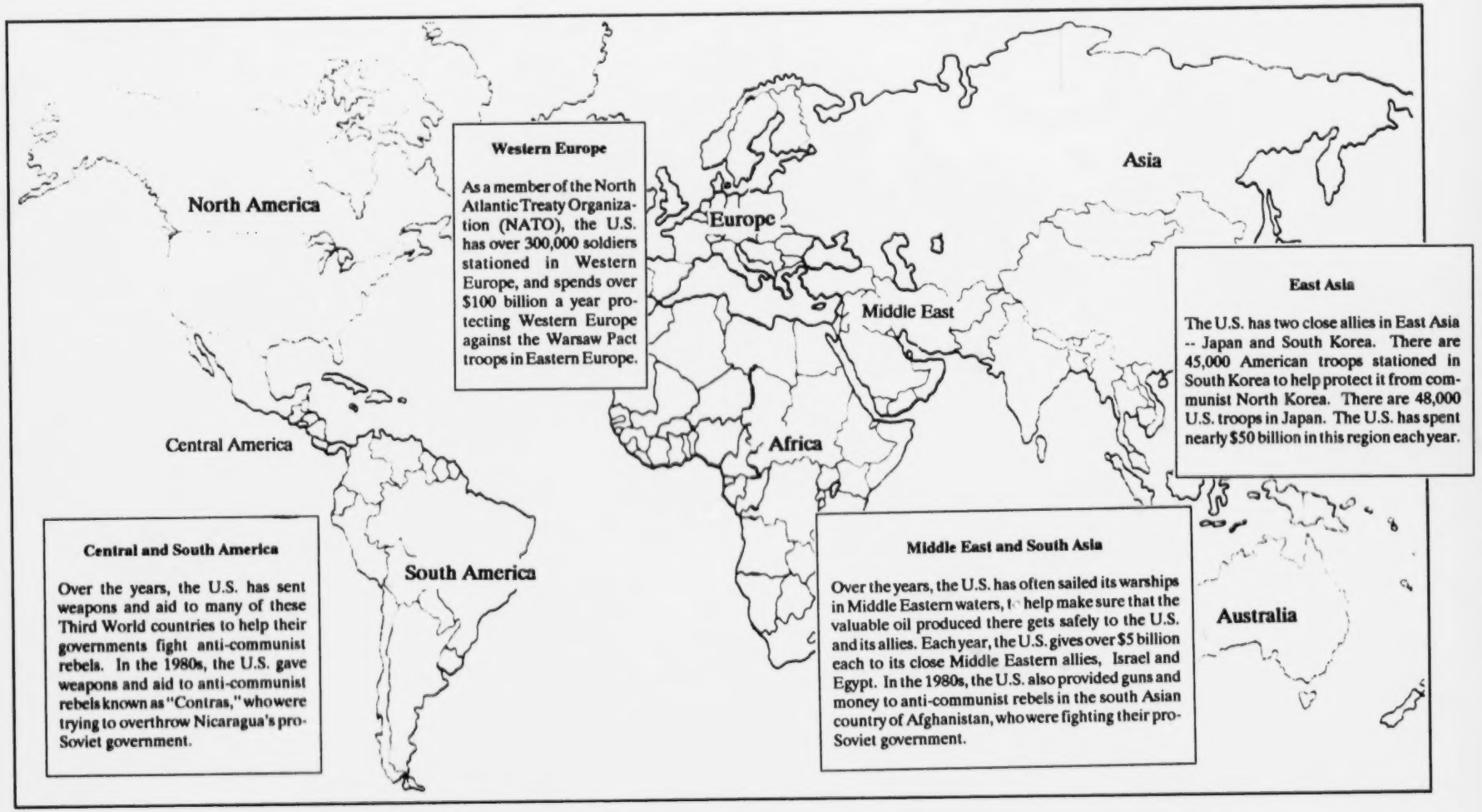
MADAGASCAR
AUSTRALIA
SWAZILAND
LESOTHO
SOUTH AFRICA
URUGUAY
ARGENTINA
CHILE
NEW ZEALAND

U.S. Troops and Military Aid around the World



Western Europe

As a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the U.S. has over 300,000 soldiers stationed in Western Europe, and spends over $100 billion a year protecting Western Europe against the Warsaw Pact troops in Eastern Europe.

East Asia

The U.S. has two close allies in East Asia -- Japan and South Korea. There are 45,000 American troops stationed in South Korea to help protect it from communist North Korea. There are 48,000 U.S. troops in Japan. The U.S. has spent nearly $50 billion in this region each year.

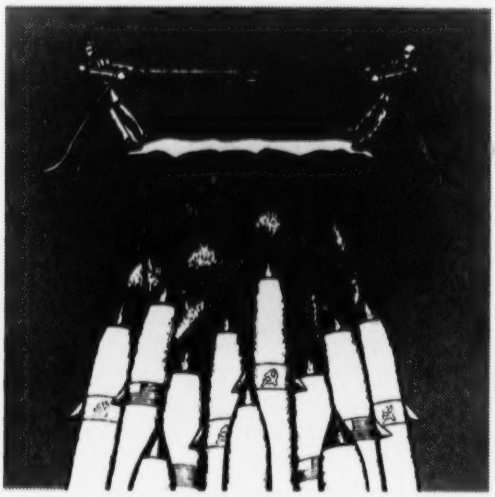
Central and South America

Over the years, the U.S. has sent weapons and aid to many of these Third World countries to help their governments fight anti-communist rebels. In the 1980s, the U.S. gave weapons and aid to anti-communist rebels known as "Contras," who were trying to overthrow Nicaragua's pro-Soviet government.

Middle East and South Asia

Over the years, the U.S. has often sailed its warships in Middle Eastern waters, to help make sure that the valuable oil produced there gets safely to the U.S. and its allies. Each year, the U.S. gives over $5 billion each to its close Middle Eastern allies, Israel and Egypt. In the 1980s, the U.S. also provided guns and money to anti-communist rebels in the south Asian country of Afghanistan, who were fighting their pro-Soviet government.

Future 1
The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand



Future 2
Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

THE FOUR FUTURES

In the following pages you will look at four different images of the future in America in the year 2010. As you read each Future, think about what you like and dislike about it. Will it prevent us from having a nuclear war? Will it preserve the values that are important to us? Don't make up your mind about any of the Futures until you have read and thought about them all.

Keep in mind that none of these Futures is perfect. Each one has many possible advantages and disadvantages. As with all plans we make for the future, none of the four Futures is risk-free.

Future 3
Cooperative Problem Solving

Future 4
Defend Only North America

FUTURE 1

The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand

Many Americans believe that as long as the U.S. is militarily and technologically strong, we can avoid nuclear war and preserve our values. Below is an image of the future that many Americans think the U.S. should head toward. See if you prefer this Future to the other three. Is it the best choice? Do you think it could work?

It is 2010, and the United States is now far more powerful than the Soviet Union. We are stronger politically, economically, technologically and, above all, militarily. The Soviet Union is still strong, but other nations no longer consider it a great world power like the United States.

By now we have realized that, even though both sides prefer peace to war, only one side can come out on top in the end. For a while, the Soviets under Gorbachev acted peacefully in an attempt to build up their strength before competing with us again. But we knew what the Soviets really wanted all along was to see their country become the most powerful in the world. Since in the long run our freedom was at stake, we refused to allow them the chance to get stronger and instead pushed them harder than ever.

Now that we have gained the upper hand over the Soviets, they can no longer threaten us. The United States has used its great technological, military, economic, and political potential to produce new sophisticated nuclear weapons and "non-nuclear," or *conventional weapons.* Together these are so powerful that they have made the Soviets' weapons look minor in comparison. By this time we may have placed in orbit a costly *"Star Wars"* defense to help protect us from nuclear attack.

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conventional weapons: Weapons that do not involve nuclear explosions. Conventional weapons include tanks, guns, planes and ships.

"Star Wars": Also known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (or SDI), a controversial plan to research ways of shooting down incoming nuclear missiles from outer space if the U.S. is under attack.

Should We Improve Our Relations with the Soviets?

Future 1 supporters say no. They point out that in the 1970s, the last time the U.S. tried to improve relations with the USSR, the Soviets took advantage of the situation by growing more powerful in the Third World and building up their nuclear arms. Only after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979 did we turn around and build up our own military. Since that time, we have given guns and money to anti-communist rebels in Afghanistan and other freedom fighters around the world. In December 1988, Gorbachev announced he would cut his five million-strong army by half a million. A few months later, the Soviets withdrew their troops from Afghanistan. According to Future 1 supporters, this proves that Soviet leaders respect and yield to force alone. They say that now is not the time to let up on the Soviets, now is the time to pressure them to pull out of *all* Third World countries and cut back their army even more.

Although it has been expensive, by now our strategy to gain the upper hand has paid off in many ways. Our stronger army, navy and air force have made the Soviets conclude they can no longer invade other countries as they invaded *Afghanistan* in 1979. We have even made them afraid of giving guns and money to their allies in the *Third World*, such as *Nicaragua.* If there is a crisis between our two countries and one side has to back down, the Soviets will have little choice but to give in to our demands, since we are stronger.

Afghan Freedom Fighter

To try to catch up to us, the Soviets would have to spend more and more money on weapons. They can't

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Afghanistan: In 1979, Soviet troops invaded this south Asian nation on their border. The U.S. has provided guns and money to Afghan rebel forces who have been trying to overthrow their pro-Soviet government. In early 1989, the Soviets withdrew their troops from Afghanistan.

Third World: A name given to most of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. The superpowers have been competing for influence in the Third World for decades. Both Afghanistan and Nicaragua are Third World nations. Most Third World countries are extremely poor.

Nicaragua: A Central American nation that has been led by the Sandinista government since 1979, which the Soviet Union supports and which the U.S. opposes.

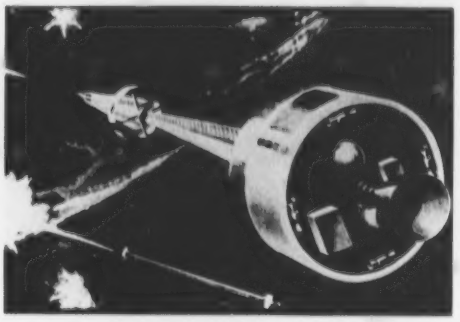
afford to do this, because their economy has gone from bad to worse. They certainly can't give much money and weapons to their Third World allies any more. As the world sees how poor the Soviet Union is becoming, other Third World countries are thinking twice before becoming allies of the Soviet Union. Since the Soviet Union has become so weak, the chances of their starting a nuclear war are much less.

Under all this pressure, the U.S. may have succeeded in pushing the Soviet government to the point where it has given up communism and has become a peaceful democracy like the nations of the *West.* Or by this time, the Soviet people may have revolted against their government. In any case, by 2010 communism is on its way out. We have won the nuclear arms race, and the Soviets no longer have the strength to threaten us.

Meanwhile, we have gone on the offensive around the world. Through solid support of anti-communist freedom fighters, and perhaps the occasional use of our own troops and conventional weapons, most of the pro-Soviet governments in the Third World have toppled. In the countries of Eastern Europe, we may have succeeded in encouraging the people there to rise up against their communist governments or peacefully change them into democracies. Around the world, there is a growing trend toward alliance with the West, and greater freedom and democracy for all peoples.

"I call upon the scientific community in our country, those who gave us nuclear weapons, to turn their great talents now to the cause of mankind and world peace, to give us the means of rendering these nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete.

– *Ronald Reagan,*
in his famous "Star Wars" speech to the nation, March 23, 1983



"Star Wars" also known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (or SDI), is a plan proposed by President Reagan in 1983 to research ways of shooting down incoming nuclear missiles from outer space if the U.S. is under attack. Critics of SDI say that the system is too expensive and very dangerous, and will not work. Supporters say that SDI is America's best hope against a Soviet nuclear attack and that the Soviets are developing a similar system.

Now, in 2010, the *Cold War* is over, and there is no longer any doubt that democracy, not communism, is the wave of the future.

West: Refers here to the U.S. and its allies.

Cold War: The hostile competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that started after World War II. It is "cold" because the two sides have never actually fought each other.

What would we do in the 90s to head toward this Future?

U.S. Marine with child in Grenada

In October of 1983, the United States invaded the small Caribbean island of Grenada. A pro-communist government had seized power in a bloody take-over several weeks before the American invasion. U.S. officials claimed that American medical students there were in danger and that the new government threatened neighboring islands. The government was quickly toppled and was replaced by a democratic pro-U.S. government.

Here are some policies that we could follow in the 1990s to head toward this Future. You don't have to support every policy listed here to support Future 1 overall.

1. The U.S. would build up a wide range and large number of advanced nuclear and conventional weapons, as well as increase its research on potential future weapons.

2. The U.S. would actively research ways of protecting the U.S. against nuclear attack through the "Star Wars" Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI). This advanced research would help improve our technology, and give us the opportunity to develop more powerful weapons. Also it would further damage the Soviets' economy as they struggle to keep up with us. If we thought "Star Wars" would work and was worth the high cost, we would begin building it as soon as possible.

3. We would not sign any *arms control agreements* that prevent us from gaining the upper hand over the Soviets. Of course, we would sign agreements that would reduce the numbers of Soviet weapons and not ours, but only if we could be sure they wouldn't cheat.

4. Around the world, the U.S. would actively work to push back Soviet influence. In Eastern Europe, we would strongly pressure the governments of these countries to give up communism and become democratic. In Third World countries such as Afghanistan, where there are local anti-communist rebels fighting their pro-Soviet government, we would send guns and money to help the rebels win. In certain cases we may send in our own troops with conventional weapons, especially where we can quickly win. An example of this was our successful invasion of the island of Grenada in 1983.

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arms control agreements: Agreements in which two or more countries reduce their number of weapons or set limits on how many more weapons they can have.

How much would this Future cost us?

Working toward this Future would be expensive for America. Unless the Soviet government fell apart or became democratic like the West, we would probably have to spend considerably more money on defense than we do now. Exactly how much this Future would cost us would depend on the kinds of weapons we make. For example, a major long-term build-up of both nuclear and non-nuclear weapons, plus a "Star Wars" system in space, would be extremely expensive. It would mean spending, for a while, the most money we have had to spend on defense since we fought World War II.

The U.S. is such a large and rich nation that we could spend this amount of money for a long time if we wanted to. But the costs must be paid somehow. To come up with the money, our country would have to do at least some of these things:

"To insist on strength is not warmongering. It's peacemongering."

-- *Senator Barry Goldwater,*
Republican candidate for President in 1964

1. Raise taxes, which means we would have to give our government more money from our paychecks;

2. Spend less on welfare, social security, hospitals and schools, which means the government would provide us with fewer services;

3. Borrow money from other countries such as Japan, which means we would have to do the first two things later in order to pay them back.

Supporters know that this Future is expensive. But they say the American people have to do what it takes to defend our country against threats to its survival as a free nation, no matter how high the cost. And nothing could be more expensive, they say, than to live in a world where the Soviets have gained the upper hand.

Future 1 is based on these beliefs:

1. The USSR is a powerful and aggressive nation that hopes someday to control the world. As long as the Soviet government remains strong, the superpowers will continue to be rivals competing for power. Although Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has made his country slightly more democratic, the Soviet Union will never become a real democracy like the U.S. until it gives up communism.

2. The main reason that the Soviets want better relations with the West at this time is that they can't afford to compete with us right now, since their economy is in terrible shape. In order to get the money and technology they need from us to help their economy, they will act peacefully and more democratically. But they'll stay that way only until they have gotten all they can out of us, and have become strong again. Then they'll want to go back on the offensive, more powerful than ever.

3. It would be foolish to improve relations with the Soviet Union now. Forty years of history have shown that even if we want to make peace with their communist government we cannot. By pushing the Soviets hard now, we can force their government to become truly democratic or to collapse under the pressure.

4. Democracy is the best form of government. The United States has a political and moral duty to protect and support democracy throughout the world. If we don't, there might come a day when the spread of communism will make the United States one of the few remaining democratic countries left in a hostile world.

5. Nuclear weapons themselves do not lead to war. In our hands, they prevent war. For forty years, our nuclear weapons have prevented the Soviets from attacking Western Europe or the U.S. Having a strong nuclear force prevents the Soviets from growing more powerful, and helps make us the number one power in the world. There is little chance that the U.S. or Soviet Union will start a nuclear war by accident.

Tiananmen Square during pro-democracy demonstrations

"The Chinese government has chosen to use force against Chinese citizens who were making a peaceful statement in favor of democracy."

-- *George Bush*, 1989

For years, many people pointed to communist China as an example of a successful communist government that improved the lives of its people. But on June 4, 1989, hundreds of Chinese citizens were killed when the government ordered its troops to gun down pro-democracy demonstrators in Beijing ("Bay-ZHING"), the Chinese capital. For many Americans, this tragedy shows how communism is always dangerous and anti-democratic, and that unless Soviet leaders give up communism, they too may end up murdering some of their people to stay in power.

"The nature of Soviet foreign policy is to destroy us by stealth, deceit, and subversion."

– *Henry Cabot Lodge,*
former United States Ambassador
to South Vietnam

What does history show?

According to Future 1 supporters, history shows that the Soviets have often been aggressive and power-hungry. Ever since the Soviet Union was founded when communists overthrew the Russian government in 1917, America has rarely trusted the Soviet Union.

After World War II ended in 1945, the Soviets took over the countries of Eastern Europe with brutal force. Instead of allowing these countries free elections as promised, they forced all the governments to become communist. The British Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, put it well when he told Americans in 1946 that an "iron curtain" of Soviet control now cut off the countries of Eastern Europe from the democratic West.

In April 1987, the United States government declared that the newly built $100 million American embassy in Moscow was "bugged" with Soviet listening devices. The U.S. charged that Soviet construction workers had hidden microphones throughout the structure. Many Americans point to this as proof that, even under Gorbachev, the Soviets will stop at nothing in their quest to defeat the United States.

Over the years, many of these countries have struggled to free themselves from Soviet control. In 1956, when the government of Hungary demanded independence from Moscow, the Soviet army quickly moved in and squashed the rebellion. In 1968, when the government of Czechoslovakia ("CHECK-o-slo-VA-kee-ah") began to allow its citizens more freedom, Soviet tanks rolled into the country's capital, and the government was soon replaced by a harsher, stricter one. And in 1980, when workers in Poland went on strike to protest their communist government, the strike leaders were arrested, their union was outlawed, and the government was turned over to the military.

Although in the last few years the Soviets have eased their grip on Eastern Europe and permitted more democracy, they have not set these countries free. Many East Europeans who try to leave for the West without official permission are still considered "enemies of the state" and are often thrown in jail. Over the years, many people have

East Berlin is seen here from the West Berlin side of the wall. The sign warns: "Attention! You are now leaving West Berlin."

The Berlin Wall, which prevents East Germans from leaving their country for West Berlin, has stood now for over 25 years. Surrounding the democratic city of West Berlin, it is 13 feet high and has a 300-foot wide "no man's land" surrounding it. East German guards with attack dogs patrol the area at all times, and have orders to shoot on sight any East Germans trying to escape their country. Since it was built in 1961, dozens of people have been killed trying to cross the Wall.

"There are some who say in Europe and elsewhere we can work with the Communists. Let them come to Berlin."

--*John F. Kennedy,*
speaking at the Berlin Wall, 1963

been shot and killed trying to escape to the West. And even though Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has said Eastern Europe can be more independent, the Soviet army still threatens to invade these countries if they try to break free from the Soviet empire.

Can this Future work?

Critics of Future 1 say that it cannot work, because they believe the U.S. cannot gain the upper hand over the Soviets and keep it for long. They point out that in the past, the Soviet Union has always been able to catch up with us militarily whenever we briefly pulled ahead. Because the Soviet government has such tight control over its people, it can force them to make whatever sacrifices are necessary to remain militarily equal to the United States. History has shown time and time again that Russians are willing to suffer great hardships if necessary to protect their country as they see fit.

Supporters of Future 1 respond that the Soviet Union would never have enough strength to keep up with a long-term push by the U.S. for superiority. There is only so much that the Soviet leaders could spend on their military before their people would rise up against them or their economy would fall apart. Now is an especially good time to push ahead because their economy is so weak.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has claimed that the Soviet Union has become a more peaceful nation. But critics point out that the Soviets are still aiming nuclear missiles at U.S. cities, and they continue to build more nuclear and other weapons. The Soviet Union still spies on the U.S. and tries to steal advanced American technology. And the Soviet army is still the largest in the world. Even if Gorbachev was sincere in wanting peace, future leaders of the Soviet Union may not be. This makes many Americans conclude that the Soviet Union is still the greatest threat America has ever faced.

Critics reply that the USSR does not need to be militarily equal to the U.S. to remain very powerful. As long as the Soviets keep roughly the same number of nuclear weapons as the U.S., they would have enough power to resist us and be seen by others as a superpower.

What about the rest of the world?

Critics of Future 1 say the rest of the world won't like it. They say that most countries will think this Future is dangerous, and will see the U.S. -- not the Soviet Union -- as the major bully on the world scene. Third World nations especially won't like it, as their lands would remain the major battleground for the superpowers' competition. Other critics say that because we are spending so much money on weapons in this Future, countries like Japan that spend more money on making better products would become more economically powerful than we are.

Supporters of Future 1 reply that even if the rest of the world disagrees with us now, they'll thank us in the long run. After the Soviets retreat from the Third World, more countries will be able to live in peace than ever before. And by leading the fight for freedom and democracy, we will remain the number one power in the world for a long time.

How Will Future 1 Handle Our Global Problems?

Future 1 supporters believe they have the best approach for dealing with global problems such as the *"greenhouse effect"* and other kinds of pollution. They point out that the democracies of the West have always been quick to respond to new environmental dangers, while communist countries have always acted more slowly. Eastern Europe is one of the most heavily polluted parts of the world. And in 1986 when the Soviet nuclear power plant at Chernobyl ("Chare-NO-ble") exploded and polluted Europe with radioactivity, it was the West that first spread the word about the accident, not the Soviets. Since the Soviets' greatest concern today is improving their weak economy, they will refuse to spend the big money it takes to improve the environment.

After we have gained the upper hand, supporters say, we can make sure the Soviets will do their part to protect the environment. But when we have to work with them on these problems, we will be sure not to pass on any knowledge of our advanced technology that could help their economy or that they could use against us.

Future 1 in perspective

Supporters of Future 1 believe that the best way to avoid nuclear war and preserve our values is for the U.S. to remain the strongest country on earth. In 2010 we will have finally gained the upper hand over the Soviet Union.

Future 1 supporters believe that we can agree with the Soviets on very little, since they cannot be trusted. Supporters of the next Future you will read, however, believe that by 2010 we and the Soviets can agree to eliminate the nuclear threat.

"greenhouse effect": The gradual global warming of the earth's climate. Air pollution by cars, fires and industry has generated excess carbon dioxide gas that traps the sun's rays like a greenhouse, gradually heating up the earth's atmosphere.

FUTURE 2

Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

Many Americans believe that while the Soviets are a threat, the danger of nuclear war threatens us all. Below is an image of the future that many Americans think the U.S. should head toward. See if you prefer this Future to the other three. Is it the best choice? Do you think it could work?

It is 2010, and the United States and the Soviet Union together have eliminated the danger that a nuclear war might destroy the whole world. Recognizing that a nuclear war cannot be won and must never be fought, the superpowers have eliminated so many nuclear weapons that the remaining few cannot threaten the end of civilization. We have also reached agreements that prevent a local crisis some place on earth from dragging us both into a global war. But this does not mean that the Soviet Union no longer threatens us at all. We and the Soviets still see each other as rivals, and continue to compete politically, economically, and technologically

The nuclear arms race has finally ended. Both sides realize that together we must prevent a nuclear war from ever occurring. By this time, the superpowers haven't been able to get rid of every nuclear weapon. However, we have agreed to eliminate nearly all of our nuclear weapons, from around 25,000 or more each, to only a few hundred on each side. With only a few hundred nuclear weapons still aimed at the Soviet Union, we can be sure the Soviets would never attack us, but we can also be sure that if the weapons were ever used they would not wipe out civilization. To prevent either side from cheating, all agreements are carefully checked by inspection teams, spy satellites and other means of *verification.*

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verification: The process in which two countries make certain, or verify, that the other side is not cheating on an agreement. Two ways of verifying that the Soviets have eliminated most of their nuclear weapons are to inspect their military bases and to use "spy satellites," which are extremely powerful cameras the U.S. has placed in outer space to spy on the Soviet Union.

Reagan and Gorbachev in Reykjavik

In October 1986, President Ronald Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev met in Reykjavik ("RAY-kya-veek"), Iceland to discuss ways of reducing their nuclear arms. At the Iceland summit, the two leaders came close to agreeing upon massive cuts in nuclear weapons. The negotiations broke down when the two countries could not agree on whether to allow the U.S. to test a "Star Wars" missile system in space. Since that time, the two countries have agreed to continue talks on reducing nuclear arms in spite of their disagreement on "Star Wars."

"We offered the complete elimination of all ballistic missiles -- Soviet and American -- from the face of the Earth by 1996."

-- *Ronald Reagan,*
after the 1986 Iceland Summit

By this time, the superpowers may have also agreed to eliminate many of their non-nuclear or *conventional weapons,* especially those in Europe. However, if the two countries haven't agreed to reduce their conventional forces, the U.S. may have decided to build up its conventional forces to match the Soviets' greater numbers. Either way, the superpowers have managed to eliminate the nuclear threat.

By now, the superpowers have also worked out how they should behave in those few, but dangerous, "hot spots" around the world. "Hot spots" are areas of the world where tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union have become so high that there is a dangerous chance of a small crisis erupting into a global war. These areas include Europe, the *Middle East,* and Korea. We and the Soviets now act very carefully in these "hot spots," and there is almost no chance now that the competition between our countries will lead to nuclear war.

But the *Cold War* continues. Although we and the Soviets together have eliminated the nuclear threat, our competition has not ended. In 2010, the Soviets would still like to become the most powerful country on earth, and this threatens our nation's future.

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conventional weapons: Weapons that do not involve nuclear explosions. Conventional weapons include tanks, guns, planes and ships. The Soviet Union has more conventional weapons than the U.S.

Middle East: A region including the countries of southwestern Asia and northwestern Africa. Egypt, Iran, Israel, Lebanon and Libya are all countries in the Middle East.

Cold War: The hostile competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that started after World War II. It is "cold" because the two sides have never actually fought each other.

How a Crisis in a "Hot Spot" Might Lead to a Nuclear War

Here is an example of how a local crisis in a "hot spot" such as Central Europe might drag the superpowers toward a nuclear war. Imagine it is the year 1993:

June 1993: In East Germany (a Soviet ally), a nationwide strike by workers turns violent when East German troops fire on the rioting strikers. Hundreds are killed, and after this many East German soldiers join the side of the rebel strikers.

July 1993: The violence continues, and the Soviet government uses its troops and tanks in East Germany to try to restore order. The East German government loses all power and the country falls into civil war. West Germany, (a U.S. ally), sends guns to help the rebels fight the Soviet troops. The U.S. refuses to aid the rebels.

August 2, 1993: Rebel troops retreat to West Germany, and the Soviet army follows them, killing hundreds of West German and American troops stationed at the border.

Later that day: The U.S. president holds an emergency meeting at the White House. Should he order U.S. troops in West Germany to fight the Soviet troops now entering West Germany, or would that lead to a nuclear war? The world holds its breath.

In other words, our two sides have remained rivals, but have agreed "to get the nukes off the playing field." In countries around the world that are not hot spots and where the risk of a superpower war is very low, the United States and the Soviet Union still compete as usual for influence.

By 2010, the strength of the West and America's determination to win the Cold War have given us an edge in this competition. Although the Soviets have attempted over the years to improve their weak communist economy, it can't compare to the strength of the truly free economies in the *West.* Now, in 2010, countries in the *Third World* deciding

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West: Refers here to the U.S. and its allies.

Third World: A name given to most of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. The superpowers have been competing for influence in the Third World for decades. Most Third World countries are extremely poor.

"If we look at the conventional balance in Europe, NATO is currently outnumbered roughly 3 to 1 in tanks and artillery and 2 to 1 in combat aircraft."

General John Galvin, Supreme Allied Commander of Europe, 1988

Soviet tank in Eastern Europe

Although NATO countries have more modern conventional weapons than Warsaw Pact countries, the Warsaw Pact has more troops and a greater total number of conventional weapons than NATO. In December 1988, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev announced that the Soviet Union would cut its army by 500,000 soldiers and remove many of its tanks from Europe. The countries in NATO were pleased by the news, but pointed out that even after Gorbachev's cuts, the Warsaw Pact would still have many more weapons and troops than NATO.

which side to join know that our side can offer them the most. As a result, the Soviets have made few new friends in the Third World. The great cuts in both sides' nuclear weapons make the Soviets seem weaker still, because in the past it had been their thousands of nuclear weapons that made them appear so powerful. Meanwhile, the U.S. has proven itself to be a strong force around the world.

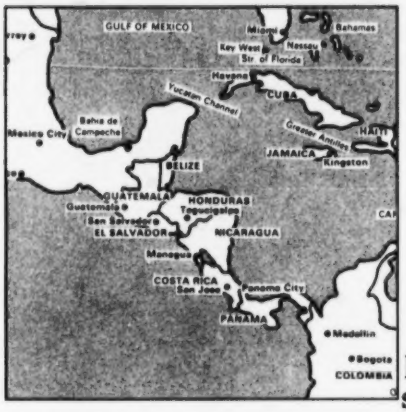
Now, in 2010, a nuclear war that destroys the Earth is impossible. The competition has not ended, but the future looks bright for the West.

What would we do in the 90s to head toward this Future?

Here are some policies that we could follow in the 1990s to head toward this Future. You don't have to support every policy listed here to support Future 2 overall.

1. The U.S. and the Soviet Union would negotiate to steadily cut their entire range of nuclear arms, from their largest long-range missiles to their smallest nuclear weapons. The first cuts should remove the nuclear weapons that the other side finds the most threatening. Both countries must be allowed to personally inspect each other's territory to guard against cheating. The U.S. would also use its advanced spy satellites and other kinds of verification to make sure the Soviets don't secretly cheat.

2. The U.S. and the USSR would negotiate agreements that would limit their competition in "hot spots," areas of the world where a local crisis could lead to a nuclear war. These areas include Europe, the Middle East, and Korea. The agreements would set sharp limits on how much the superpowers can get involved in conflicts in these



Central America

"This is a great moral challenge for the entire free world. Surely no issue is more important for peace in our own hemisphere . . . than to achieve democracy in Nicaragua."

– Ronald Reagan,
State of the Union address, 1986

places. The U.S. and the USSR would also negotiate some "rules of the road" outlining what they should and should not do, if a crisis does somehow erupt.

Nicaragua, a small country in Central America, has been ruled since 1979 by the pro-communist Sandinista party, which receives money and weapons from the Soviet Union. Over the years, the Sandinistas have been at war with the "Contras," a group of anti-communist rebels. Starting in 1981 and for most of the next seven years, the United States government supplied the Contras with weapons and money to help them overthrow the Sandinista government. Although the two sides stopped fighting in 1988, many Americans believe that the United States must continue to support pro-American forces such as the Contras.

3. We would continue to compete with the Soviet Union for world influence, just as we have done since 1945. We would encourage the countries of Eastern Europe to become more democratic and independent. We would keep supporting and giving money to Third World nations threatened by the Soviets or their allies. As we have done in *Afghanistan* and Nicaragua, the U.S. would be prepared to arm local anti-communist "freedom fighters" in countries like these, that are not hot spots and where the risk of a superpower war is very low.

4. In addition to negotiating cuts in their numbers of nuclear weapons, the U.S., the USSR, and all of their allies would negotiate to eliminate many of their conventional weapons. To guard against cheating, we must be allowed to personally inspect the territory of the Soviet Union and its allies. However, if the two sides can't reach an agreement, the U.S. and Western Europe might decide to build up our conventional forces to match the Soviets' greater numbers.

How much would this Future cost us?

How much this Future would cost depends a lot on whether we and the Soviets can agree to reduce our number of "conventional" or non-nuclear weapons. One of the reasons we have defended our country with nuclear weapons in the past is that they are

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Afghanistan: In 1979, Soviet troops invaded this south Asian nation on their border. The U.S. has provided guns and money to Afghan rebel forces who have been trying to overthrow their pro-Soviet government. In early 1989, the Soviets withdrew their troops from Afghanistan.

Is The "Cold War" Over?

Future 2 supporters say no. They point out that even though the superpowers have a common interest in eliminating the nuclear threat, the next greatest threat to the U.S. is still the Soviet threat. The Soviets continue to give guns and money to aggressive countries such as Nicaragua and Cuba. They continue to spy on us, and steal our advanced technological secrets whenever they can. And even if they got rid of all their nuclear arms tomorrow, they would still have the largest army in the world. Future 2 supporters believe we shouldn't fool ourselves into thinking that the Cold War is over. They say we should be careful that eliminating the nuclear threat doesn't make the Soviets more powerful, even if it means we have to build up our conventional forces.

much cheaper to build than conventional weapons, yet more powerful. So if the U.S. and the Soviet Union agreed to get rid of only their nuclear weapons, our country won't save any money. This is because we may decide to build up our more expensive conventional forces to match the Soviets' greater numbers. If we do, we would have to pay more for our defense than we do now. (However, we would not have to spend nearly as much as in Future 1.)

On the other hand, if we and the Soviets can agree to reduce our numbers of conventional weapons, then we could spend much less on defense than we do today. Our government could use the money saved to do some of these things:

1. Cut our taxes, since the U.S. would need less money for defense. This means that our government would take less money out of our paychecks than it does today;

2. Spend more money on welfare, social security, hospitals, and schools;

3. Put the money saved toward our national *deficit.* In recent years, our government has spent much more money than it has raised, and has borrowed money from other places. Borrowing this amount of money each year creates a deficit, which can hurt the economy.

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deficit: The amount of money a government owes if it spends more money than it takes in during the year. In 1988, the U.S. government had a deficit of $155 billion.

Future 2 is based on these beliefs:

1. We and the Soviets don't have to stop being rivals to agree to end the threat of a global nuclear war. It is in both sides' best interest to prevent a nuclear war from ever happening.

2. For forty years, we have competed with the Soviets for influence around the world, and we can't expect our Cold War relationship to improve fundamentally, at least for a long time. Eliminating the nuclear threat doesn't mean that the Cold War is over. We must continue to oppose the Soviets until they give up their aggressive ways and become truly democratic.

3. Soviet leaders would never launch a nuclear attack against the U.S. on purpose because they know that we would strike back at them with our own nuclear weapons. Both sides keep a stockpile of nuclear weapons to prevent, or "deter," the other side from launching a nuclear attack by threatening to strike back with nuclear weapons. However, nuclear weapons are so incredibly powerful that each side needs only a few hundred weapons to do this, instead of the 25,000 or more each has today.

What does history show?

According to Future 2 supporters, history shows that for the past 40 years, the superpowers have been caught up in a nuclear arms race that has threatened to destroy the world.

In 1945, when the U.S. dropped atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing tens of thousands of people instantly and ending World War II, the U.S. knew it had a powerful new weapon. When the Soviets built their own atomic bombs a few years later, the U.S. built more bombs. As the U.S. built more bombs, the Soviets built more bombs. And so the nuclear arms race began.

Reagan and Gorbachev in Washington

In December 1987, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev met in Washington to sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty, also known as the INF Treaty. The treaty eliminates 859 U.S. and 1,941 Soviet nuclear missiles from Europe. But this accounted for only 3% of all the nuclear weapons the superpowers had at the time, and since then the two sides have continued to build other types of weapons. Many Americans believe the superpowers should agree to limit their supply of nuclear weapons to a few hundred on each side, and destroy the rest.

"For the first time in history, an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear missiles is eliminated."

– *Ronald Reagan*
at December 1987
Washington summit

"[Nuclear weapons] grew out of history, yet they threaten to end history. They were made by men, yet they threaten to annihilate man. They are a pit into which the whole world can fall."

– Jonathan Schell,
***The Fate of the Earth,* 1982**

Mushroom cloud over Hiroshima, Japan
August 6, 1945

In the Cuban Missile Crisis, the world came terrifyingly close to nuclear destruction. In October 1962, President John F. Kennedy discovered that the Soviets had secretly placed nuclear missiles on the island of Cuba, 90 miles off the coast of Florida. Kennedy believed the missiles were a great threat to the U.S. and demanded that the Soviets remove them. When they refused, he ordered U.S. ships to surround the island and prevent Soviet warships from docking in Cuba to unload more nuclear missiles. As the Soviet ships headed toward the blockade, Kennedy placed the U.S. armed forces on full alert. If the Soviets broke the blockade, it could have meant nuclear war. But fortunately the Soviets backed down in time and removed the missiles.

Today the superpowers have a total of over 50,000 nuclear weapons. The U.S. supply alone has the firepower of over one million Hiroshima bombs, enough to end civilization and perhaps even all human life. Even though history shows that two countries caught in an arms race usually end up going to war, the superpowers continue to build more and more nuclear weapons.

The superpowers together maintain over 50,000 nuclear weapons, which contain enough firepower to destroy the world many times over. At the very least, a full-scale nuclear war would certainly kill billions of people and mean the end of civilization. Some scientists believe that if some of these weapons were used in a war anywhere in the world, the fires from the nuclear explosions could create enough smoke to cover the earth and block out the sun, causing temperatures to plunge. The "nuclear winter" that would follow would make most of the world uninhabitable for years.

Can this Future work?

Critics of Future 2 say that it cannot work, because superpowers cannot stop the arms race as long as they continue to compete for influence around the world. For example, after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan in 1979, relations between the

"The [Soviet] economy is now going through a very difficult time. The situation has not been this bad in many years."

– *Leonid Abalkin*,
Director of the Institute of Economics,
Soviet Academy of Science, 1987

"TRY"

Since coming to power in 1985, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has tried to improve the Soviet Union's poor and inefficient economy. Even though he has introduced reforms, Soviet citizens still must often wait in long lines to buy food and other basic goods. Many experts believe that his reforms are still too little and have come too late, and that the Soviet economy will continue to slump for years to come.

superpowers soured and there was little progress in reaching *arms control agreements* for a number of years.

Supporters of this Future respond that the two sides now understand that nuclear weapons are a special problem, which they can keep separate from other things. For example, the Soviets did not stop negotiating with us for very long after we bombed *Libya,* one of their allies, in 1986.

Critics reply that even if this is true, having thousands of nuclear weapons is what makes the U.S. and Soviet Union look so powerful. Since the superpowers both want to keep this image, they will not make the very deep nuclear weapons cuts required in Future 2.

What about the rest of the world?

Critics of Future 2 say this Future will change the world for the worse. They say that if the superpowers get rid of most of their nuclear weapons, then countries that today have only a few nuclear weapons (such as China) will become much more powerful. This Future may also tempt countries that are our enemies (such as Libya) to get hold of their own nuclear weapons, and the world will become a more dangerous place than before.

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arms control agreements: Agreements in which two or more countries reduce their numbers of weapons or set limits on how many more weapons they can have.

Libya: A Third World country in North Africa, ruled by Colonel Mohammar Qaddaffi. In 1986 U.S. fighter planes bombed Tripoli, the Libyan capital, after the U.S. had accused Qaddaffi of supporting terrorist attacks on U.S. soldiers in Europe.

How Will Future 2 Handle Our Global Problems?

Future 2 supporters believe they have the best approach for dealing with our many global problems. Just as the U.S. and the USSR must work together to eliminate the threat of nuclear war, we must also eliminate other threats to our survival, such as *acid rain* and the destruction of the *ozone layer.* When necessary, we and the Soviets, along with other countries, will share our resources in fighting these problems. But we will not forget that we remain rivals with the Soviets. We will always be cautious about working with them, knowing that they want to acquire our more advanced technology to help them become more powerful.

Future 2 supporters reply that the rest of the world will support this Future, because the superpowers will eliminate the weapons that threaten the survival of the human race. Other nations that have nuclear weapons will also work to eliminate the nuclear threat. Supporters also believe that if we keep on competing with the Soviets for influence in the Third World, the Soviets will gradually weaken and be defeated there, bringing freedom and democracy to these countries.

Future 2 in perspective

Supporters of Future 2 believe that while the Soviets are a threat, the danger of nuclear war threatens us most of all. They believe that the best way to avoid nuclear war and preserve our values is to compete with the Soviets but at the same time agree with them to eliminate the nuclear threat.

Future 2 supporters believe we shouldn't trust the Soviets. We should always make sure that the Soviets do not cheat on any agreements we sign with them. Supporters of the next Future you will read, however, believe that by 2010 we and the Soviets can learn to trust each other.

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acid rain: An environmental hazard that occurs when the heavy burning of fuels such as coal and oil creates poisonous fumes which enter the atmosphere and mix with rain clouds. The clouds produce acid rain, which gradually destroys forests, poisons lakes and streams, and kills fish and other wildlife.

ozone layer: A layer of gases in the earth's atmosphere that shields us from the sun's harmful radiation. Chemicals such as those found in styrofoam containers damage the ozone layer.

FUTURE 3

Cooperative Problem Solving

Many Americans believe that the U.S. and Soviet Union can fundamentally change their relationship. Below is an image of the future that many Americans think the U.S. should head toward. See if you prefer this Future to the other three. Is it the best choice? Do you think it could work?

It is 2010, and the United States and the Soviet Union have completely changed their relationship. While continuing to have very different forms of government, we and the Soviets are working together in many ways.

The *Cold War*, which had gone on since the end of World War II, is finally over. Now, in 2010, our relationship has greatly improved, and our two countries no longer compete with each other for world influence.

We and the Soviets changed our relationship by cooperating through the years on problems that endangered us both and on projects that benefited us both. In this way, we grew to trust each other more. As this happened, we gradually turned to the more difficult issues that had kept us enemies, including the arms race.

Cooperative problem solving as a way of changing the relationship began with problems that immediately threatened both sides, but that neither side could blame on the other. These problems included international terrorism, nuclear power plant safety, and the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries.

At the same time, our two countries began working closely together on larger global problems like the *"greenhouse effect"* and AIDS. Since we and the Soviets did not see

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Cold War: The hostile competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that started after World War II. It is "cold" because the two sides have never actually fought each other.

"greenhouse effect": The gradual global warming of the earth's climate. Air pollution by cars, fires and industry has generated excess carbon dioxide gas that traps the sun's rays like a greenhouse, gradually heating up the earth's atmosphere.

Both superpowers are concerned about the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. As it becomes easier for smaller countries to acquire nuclear weapons, the chances become greater that one or more might use nuclear weapons in a war, since the weapons are relatively inexpensive and extremely powerful. Some fear that a terrorist group might one day get hold of a nuclear bomb and use it against innocent people.

Countries that already have nuclear weapons: United States, Soviet Union, China, Great Britain, France

Countries that probably have nuclear weapons or who will very soon: Israel, India, Pakistan, South Africa

Countries that are probably interested in getting nuclear weapons: Libya, Brazil, Argentina, North Korea, Taiwan, Iraq, Iran

each other as the origin of these global problems, our two countries were able to start working closely together to solve the problems more quickly than if we worked separately.

To work together as effectively as possible, the two sides agreed for the first time to openly share their knowledge and technology. We now allow Soviet scientists to take advantage of our scientific and technical know-how, and the Soviets offer us theirs as well.

Over the years, the superpowers discovered that working together on common concerns gradually changed each side's view of the other for the better. Now, in 2010, mutual mistrust has been replaced by an atmosphere of mutual understanding and businesslike cooperation. Naturally, this cooperation means that neither side has had its own way. Both sides have had to make compromises.

By now, in 2010, the superpowers have looked beyond their common problems toward other projects that benefit both sides. Soviets and Americans now work together as equal partners on projects that improve the quality of life in both countries. Our two countries now share knowledge of computers and other advanced technology to create better cars, planes, and hospitals. We may even be working on a joint space mission to Mars.

As we and the Soviets began to trust each other more, we were gradually able to cooperate on more difficult problems. By 2010, we have finally been able to tackle successfully the most difficult problem of all: the arms race, for which both sides had blamed each other.

Now, in 2010, the superpowers have reached many *arms control agreements* that have greatly reduced the threat of nuclear war. Because our two sides trust each other more than ever before, it is now much easier for us to reach agreements. All new arms control

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arms control agreements: Agreements in which two or more countries reduce their number of weapons or set limits on how many more weapons they can have.

treaties still require personal inspections and other kinds of *verification* to make sure that neither side cheats. However, it is unlikely that either side would cheat, since we both know it would harm our cooperative relationship, and both sides would lose.

Meanwhile, the danger of nuclear war has also been reduced in another way. Because our overall relationship has improved so much, both sides are now simply less concerned about each other's nuclear weapons. This is not a new idea. Before the 1970s, the U.S. and *China* feared each other, and were afraid of each other's nuclear weapons. But after American and Chinese leaders met in 1972 and agreed to cooperate more, the U.S.-Chinese relationship improved. No matter what we thought of them, we no longer feared a Chinese nuclear attack.

Now, in 2010, the U.S. and USSR still do not like each other's form of government. But while we do not see each other as friends, we do not see each other as enemies either. Instead, we see each other as partners in businesslike cooperation. We and the Soviets have gathered enough mutual confidence to work together on the new problems of the 21st century.

At Reagan and Gorbachev's May 1988 summit meeting in Moscow, the Soviet leader proposed a U.S.-Soviet manned space mission to Mars by the year 2010. Some people believe that this would be an excellent project for the two countries, since they both have valuable experience in space exploration that they could share in preparing for this kind of a mission. Although it would be very expensive and could give the Soviets some of America's most advanced space technology, these people believe that a joint Mars mission would go a long way toward improving relations.

Artist's sketch of imagined human expedition to Mars

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verification: The process in which two countries make certain that the other side is not cheating on an agreement. One way of verifying that the Soviets aren't cheating is to inspect their military bases.

China: The People's Republic of China, the largest and most populous country in Southeast Asia, with over one billion people. Although China has had a communist government since 1949, it is not an ally of the Soviet Union.

"The Soviet Union is the world's biggest untapped market. Exporting to Russia was very difficult. Now, joint ventures are opening a new door."

Business Week Magazine,
Dec. 7, 1987

What would we do in the 90s to head toward this Future?

Here are some policies that we could follow in the 1990s to head toward this Future. You don't have to support every policy listed here to support Future 3 overall.

1. The U.S. and the Soviet Union would cooperate at once on the problems of terrorism, nuclear power plant safety, the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries, and any other dangers that currently threaten them both.

In 1986, Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev called for a "radical reform" of the USSR's weak economy. These new reforms include inviting the U.S. and other Western countries to invest in the Soviet economy by going into business partnerships, known as "joint ventures," with Soviet companies. In one joint venture, McDonald's recently opened restaurants in Moscow, where the Soviets who run the chains have been trained by Americans.

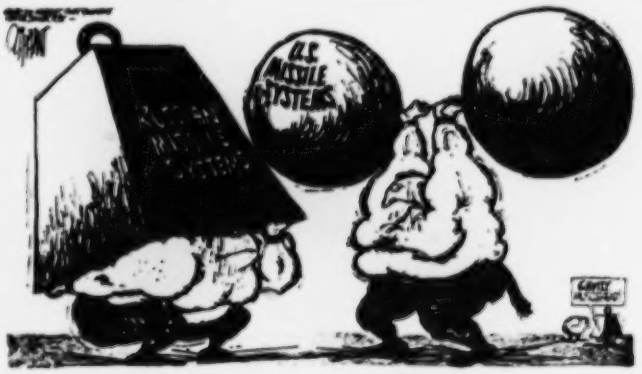
2. The U.S. and the USSR would also agree to work closely together on common problems such as the "greenhouse effect" and AIDS. The *United Nations* might coordinate a world-wide effort to address some of these global problems. To work together as effectively as possible, the two sides would agree to openly share their advanced technology. This means that we would stop preventing the Soviets from learning the technological secrets that we and our allies share and that the Soviets want. However, we would try not to give away our greatest military secrets to the Soviets.

3. The U.S. and the Soviet Union would try to reach agreements eliminating the nuclear threat. But our two sides probably would not make much progress here until we trusted each other more. As a result, the U.S. should not try very hard to reach arms control agreements before our two countries have built the necessary trust.

United Nations: An international organization created in 1945 to promote world peace, security and cooperation. Almost all nations have representatives to the U.N. At its world headquarters in New York City, the U.N. coordinates international cooperation on many issues, such as hunger, disease and the environment.

Should Arms Control Be Our Highest Priority?

Future 3 supporters say no. They say the superpowers shouldn't focus their attention on reaching arms control agreements. In an atmosphere of mistrust, reaching agreements to end the nuclear threat could take a long time. They say that even if all the nuclear weapons in the world disappeared overnight, the superpowers would quickly rebuild them because the two countries don't trust each other. The threat of nuclear war will remain as long as the superpowers are rivals. When there is enough trust, the superpowers will be able to work together to end the arms race, and with a much greater chance of success.



"Do Me A Favor—Help Me Drop It!"

4. The U.S. cannot improve its relationship with the Soviet Union and build trust while still fighting communism in the *Third World.* In the 1990s the superpowers would agree to stop supplying arms to countries in the Third World where the two sides oppose each other. For example, we would stop giving weapons to "freedom fighters" opposing communist governments, and the Soviets would stop giving weapons to their allies, such as *Nicaragua.* The two sides would also agree to remove any troops they have stationed in these areas of the Third World.

5. The U.S. would do more business with the Soviet Union and its communist allies in Eastern Europe and elsewhere. For example, we would end our long-standing trade ban on Cuba (a Soviet ally) and allow U.S. businesses to trade with that country, mainly because it would help our economy. We would accept the fact that it would help Cuba's economy too. Then we would also encourage American and Soviet companies to invest in profitable projects together, even though this profit would make the Soviet economy stronger.

Third World: A name given to most of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. The superpowers have been competing for influence in the Third World for decades. Most Third World countries are extremely poor.

Nicaragua: A Central American nation that has been ruled by the Sandinista government since 1979, which the Soviet Union supports and which the U.S. opposes.

"We have no universal solutions, but we are prepared to cooperate sincerely and honestly with the United States and other countries in seeking answers to all problems, even the most difficult ones."

– *Mikhail Gorbachev*, 1987

In 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became the new leader of the Soviet Union. Since that time, he has shocked the world and his own people with his plans to restructure Soviet society and reshape the Soviet Union's role in the world. His official policy of "glasnost" ("GLAHSnost") or "openness," has allowed Soviet citizens new freedoms. Internationally, Gorbachev has called for a more powerful United Nations, a less aggressive Soviet foreign policy, and greater cooperation with the United States.

How much would this Future cost us?

Supporters of Future 3 say that as the U.S. and Soviet Union begin to trust each other more and fear each other less, they would naturally spend less money on weapons. But how quickly this would happen is hard to tell. Agreements reached on cutting nuclear weapons and *conventional weapons* would mean we could eventually spend much less on defending our country than we do now. The money saved could be used to cut our taxes, which means that our government would take less money out of our paychecks than it does today. We could also spend the money on welfare, social security, hospitals, and schools or put it toward ending our national *deficit.*

However, critics of Future 3 say we won't really save any money in the long run. They say the Soviets will turn on us later and we will have to build up our defenses all over again. Then, defending our country will be more expensive than ever, because we will have given the Soviets our advanced technology and they will be more powerful than today.

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conventional weapons: Weapons that do not involve nuclear explosives. Conventional weapons include tanks, guns, planes and ships.

deficit: The amount of money a government owes if it spends more money than it takes in during the year. In 1988, the U.S. government had a deficit of $155 billion.

"It seems to me . . . we have reached a place where it is not a question of 'can we live in the same world and cooperate' but 'we must live in the same world and learn to cooperate.'"

– *Eleanor Roosevelt,* 1958

The Odd Couple

Future 3 is based on these beliefs:

1. The U.S. and Soviet Union can greatly improve their relationship by the year 2010.

2. The best way, if not the only way, to start this change is for our two nations to work together on common problems that neither side can blame on the other, such as environmental problems.

3. No matter how much we want them to, arms control negotiations cannot make much progress in today's atmosphere of mistrust.

4. The Soviet Union will not take advantage of a much-improved relationship with the U.S. For example, if we give the Soviets our advanced technology, they won't use it against us. The Soviet Union, like the U.S., will have learned from the mistakes of the past and will understand that cooperation is better than confrontation.

What does history show?

According to Future 3 supporters, history shows that for the past 40 years the U.S. and the Soviet Union have had a hostile relationship. Some believe that this relationship can never fundamentally improve as long as one side believes in democracy and capitalism and the other side believes in communism. However, history shows that communists and capitalists can fundamentally change their relationship.

In 1949, the United States was shocked to learn that China, the world's most populous country, had been taken over by communists. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s many Americans feared communist China might some day attack the U.S. with nuclear weapons. When Richard Nixon, a strong anti-communist, became president in 1968,

Although the U.S. and the Soviet Union feared and mistrusted each other in the 1930s, the two sides were able to join forces to defeat Nazi Germany in World War II. When Germany launched a surprise attack on the Soviet Union in June 1941, the United States immediately loaned the Soviet Union war supplies to help them fight off the German invasion. President Franklin Roosevelt believed that it was more important to unite with the Soviets in defeating Hitler than it was to disagree with them about their communist government. Many believe that the superpowers should join forces again to solve the common problems they face fifty years later.

Soviet and American troops meet in Germany
April 1945

few Americans expected him to improve U.S. relations with that country. Many people thought that improving relations with a communist country was impossible. Then, in 1972, Nixon traveled to China to meet with Chinese leader Mao Zedong. It was the first time a U.S. president had visited China. The two leaders realized that although the two countries had different forms of government and beliefs, they shared common interests. For example, both countries were interested in trading with each other.

Since that time, our relationship with China has significantly improved. Even though we may dislike the Chinese government and oppose many of its policies, we no longer fear a Chinese nuclear attack. This shows that a capitalist and a communist country don't have to threaten each other if they discover they share common interests.

Can this Future work?

Critics of Future 3 say that it cannot work, because the U.S. and the Soviet Union cannot make peace just by cooperating on common problems. Our two sides have worked together on common problems in the past, such as improving nuclear power plant safety and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. But doing this hasn't made us friendlier toward each other. The superpower rivalry is one of the most serious conflicts the world has ever known. Even if our two countries together solved all the world's problems, our powerful disagreements would prevent us from

trusting each other. In fact, critics of Future 3 say, because the conflict is so deep, the Soviets would probably turn on us and use the technology we have given them against us.

Supporters of this Future reply that the root problem is not that the U.S. and Soviet Union have too many disagreements. The U.S. and China still have major disagreements, but they don't threaten to attack each other. The real problem is that we and the Soviets don't trust each other, and that problem can be solved by working together on common problems.

What about the rest of the world?

Critics of Future 3 say this Future will frighten the rest of the world. They say other countries will be afraid the superpowers may eventually cooperate too closely, and become allies. If this happened, the "United Superpowers" would become the most powerful force on earth. Together, they could control the world. Third World countries also fear that if the U.S. followed this Future, we would give them less money and support, since superpower competition in the Third World would relax and the U.S. would be much less interested in these countries.

Our High-Tech Edge: Could We Lose It?

The U.S. and its allies, including Japan, are the world's leaders in advanced technology. Compared to the Soviet Union and its allies, our technology -- our weapons, machinery, computers, even our TV sets -- has generally been five to ten years more advanced, and sometimes more. In Future 3, the U.S. might give up this edge in technology by cooperating closely with the Soviets. For example, if we decide to go to Mars with the Soviets, they would learn many of our secrets about how to make better computers and rockets. By 2010, their technology may be just as good as ours. It might even be better in some areas. Critics of Future 3 say the Soviets might some day turn on us, and the technology we give them will have made them more powerful and threatening than ever. Future 3 supporters reply that the Soviets will not turn on us and that even if we lose our high-tech edge, we will have gained peace.

How Will Future 3 Handle Our Global Problems?

Future 3 supporters believe they have the best approach for dealing with our many global problems, such as overpopulation and the destruction of the world's rain forests. They believe that their Future would solve these problems, because it would allow Soviet and American scientists to pool their knowledge of advanced technology to address these problems together. As the superpowers begin to trust each other more, they will work even more closely together, and this will speed up progress on solving these global problems. Future 3 supporters believe that the Soviets won't use the advanced technology we give them against us later.

Future 3 supporters reply that the end of superpower rivalry will not mean a "United Superpowers," since the superpowers will always disagree about too many things to become close allies. They say many countries will support this Future, because the superpowers will no longer pressure them to take sides in the superpower competition.

Future 3 in perspective

Supporters of Future 3 believe that the U.S. and Soviet Union share many common problems. They believe that the best way to avoid nuclear war and preserve American values is to cooperate on solving these problems as a way of building trust between the two nations.

Supporters of all the Futures you have read so far believe that how our country deals with the Soviets is very important. Supporters of the next Future you will read, however, believe that by 2010 our relations with the Soviet Union and the rest of the world should not be nearly as important as solving the problems America faces at home.

FUTURE 4

Defend Only North America

Many Americans believe that some of the most important problems we face are at home. Below is an image of the future that many Americans think the U.S. should head toward. See if you prefer this Future to the other three. Is it the best choice? Do you think it could work?

It is 2010, and Americans realize that the United States has no reason to have its military forces all over the world. We know now that we don't have to defend anything but the North American continent (including Hawaii) to remain a secure and free country. As a result, we have withdrawn our soldiers and weapons from Western Europe, Asia, and other faraway lands where we had stationed them earlier. Now we no longer have military alliances or commitments with any nation other than our neighbors, Canada and Mexico.

We realize now that America's real security begins at home -- in the health and well-being of all our citizens. We have turned our attention away from the rest of the world's political and military problems, and instead are focusing on problems in the U.S. Our goals include improving our economy, educating our people, providing affordable housing, helping the elderly, and protecting our environment. Improving the quality of life for all Americans is our main concern in 2010.

For decades, we had spent hundreds of billions of dollars protecting countries like Japan and West Germany from attack by the Soviet Union. These countries, who were our military allies but also our economic rivals, could have easily afforded to pay for their own defense. Often, we had gotten little in return. Some of the other countries we had to support in the fight against communism were even cruel dictatorships.

We know today that our military alliances with other countries all over the world didn't make us safer. On the contrary, these alliances threatened to drag us into other people's wars. Now, in 2010, we have given up our role of "world policeman" and no longer get involved in dangerous conflicts in the *Third World* or anywhere else.

Third World: A name given to most of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. The superpowers have been competing for influence in the Third World for decades. Most Third World countries are extremely poor.

Most military experts believe that it would be almost impossible for an enemy to invade the United States successfully. The U.S. is surrounded by two huge oceans and has no powerful enemies nearby. In addition, America's nuclear weapons deter countries from invading, because they know that the U.S. could attack them with nuclear weapons if they did. Some experts believe that the U.S. should build a "Star Wars" defense system to help protect America from a nuclear attack. Others believe that "Star Wars" is costly and dangerous and that, since nuclear weapons alone can deter an attack, the U.S. should spend the money on other things.

We can easily defend North America against an armed invasion, since any potential invader is far away. We have kept plenty of warships, planes and troops to defend all our borders, from Alaska to Florida. We also have enough warships to keep our most important sea routes, such as the Panama Canal, open if they are threatened.

We still count on our nuclear weapons to *deter* the Soviets (or anyone else) from attacking North America, just as we have for years. We have kept plenty of nuclear weapons to do this, replacing them from time to time with more advanced weapons to keep our arsenal up-to-date.

By now, we also have researched other ways of defending North America from nuclear attack. We may have placed in orbit a *"Star Wars"* defense system by this time, if we believe it will provide good enough protection from nuclear attack and is worth the high cost.

We can defend North America with or without nuclear *arms control agreements.* Since we can easily protect ourselves from invasion, and can deter other countries from

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deter: To prevent other countries from attacking, by threatening to strike back with nuclear weapons if they try to attack.

"Star Wars": Also known as the "Strategic Defense Initiative" (or SDI), a controversial plan to research ways of shooting down incoming nuclear missiles from outer space if the U.S. is under attack.

arms control agreements: Agreements in which two or more countries reduce their number of weapons or set limits on how many more weapons they can have.

"We've been protecting some of these NATO countries and non-NATO allies for too long. They've become leeches."

-- *Rep. James A. Traficant,*
U.S. Congressman, 1988

attacking us with nuclear weapons, arms control doesn't make us safer. However, arms control agreements with the Soviets could save us money, since we would not have to spend as much on nuclear arms if there were fewer Soviet weapons.

By now our relations with the Soviet Union, and with all other countries except Canada and Mexico, are much less important than they used to be. The Soviet Union is far away and has problems of its own. How well it deals with its problems and how it acts toward the rest of the world are no longer a great concern to us.

Instead, our main concern is the success and prosperity of the United States of America now and in the years to come.

"I'll carry the bar . . ."

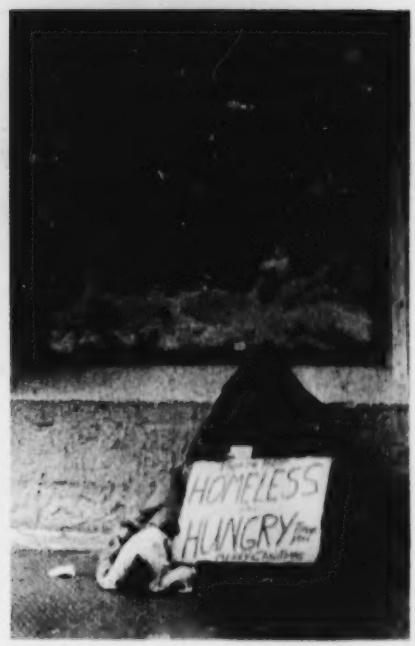
When the NATO alliance was formed in 1949, the democratic countries of Western Europe had been destroyed by war and could not afford to pay for their own defense against the Soviet Union's powerful armies. It was natural then that the United States paid the biggest share. Yet even though Europe has fully recovered and has a strong economy today, the U.S. still pays the biggest share of NATO's costs. Many Americans feel that now it is time for other NATO nations to take on a greater portion of the cost of defending Western Europe.

What would we do in the 90s to head toward this Future?

Here are some policies that we could follow in the 1990s to head toward this Future. You don't have to support every policy listed here to support Future 4 overall.

1. The U.S. would tell its allies (other than Canada and Mexico) that American commitments to defend them will be phased out. For example, we would tell our *NATO*

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization is a military alliance formed in 1949 to defend Western Europe against the Soviet Union and its allies. NATO includes the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, and ten other European nations.



There are over 3 million homeless persons in the United States. Roughly 30 million Americans live in poverty, most of them children. Hundreds of thousands of Americans have caught the deadly AIDS virus. Drug abuse today destroys the lives of millions of Americans. The destruction of the environment threatens everyone. Many Americans believe addressing these problems should be the nation's top priority.

allies that we will gradually withdraw our more than 300,000 soldiers from Europe over the next ten years. This would give our allies in Western Europe enough time to make other arrangements to defend themselves against the Soviets, (or try to make peace with them), before we totally pulled out. We would wish our former allies well, and would offer to sell them any *conventional weapons* they might need to defend themselves.

2. The U.S. would use its army, navy, and air force to protect only the area around North America, and important shipping routes. This would cost us much less and require far fewer troops and conventional weapons than we have today.

3. The U.S. would refocus its attention on domestic concerns such as homelessness, crime, drug abuse, AIDS, and the environment. When we deal with the rest of the world, our first priority would be the interests and concerns of our nation, not preventing the spread of communism.

4. The U.S. would keep plenty of nuclear weapons to deter any country from attacking North America. To keep our weapons up-to-date, we would occasionally have to build newer, more advanced nuclear weapons. We would continue to do this beyond 2010, unless all the countries with nuclear weapons agreed to end the nuclear arms race, and we were sure no country could cheat.

5. The U.S. would look for other ways to protect itself against nuclear attack. We would consider building a "Star Wars" defense to shoot down incoming missiles from outer space. We would also research ways of protecting our country from attack by enemy aircraft and low-flying missiles. We would build these systems if we believed they would work and be worth the high cost.

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conventional weapons: Weapons that do not involve nuclear explosions. Conventional weapons include tanks, guns, planes and ships.

"The United States has asserted its willingness to be the first – has indeed made plans to be the first, if necessary – to use nuclear weapons to defend against aggression in Europe."

– McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara, Gerard Smith, former high-ranking government officials, 1982

Lance Missile

How much would this Future cost us?

How much this Future would cost depends on whether or not we choose to build an expensive system like "Star Wars" to help protect America from attack. If we chose not to build "Star Wars" and counted mainly on our nuclear weapons to deter the Soviets from attacking us, we could spend far less money on defense. Since we only have to defend North America in this Future, we could reduce our army, navy, and air force. This means we could spend much less on conventional forces such as troops, tanks, ships, and aircraft.

The U.S. and its NATO allies have often said that if there was a war in Europe, they might use nuclear weapons to stop a Soviet invasion, even if the Soviets used only conventional weapons. But many Americans believe that it is wrong for the U.S. to be the first to use nuclear weapons in a war. And many Americans worry that if the U.S. used its nuclear weapons against the Soviets in a war in Europe, the Soviets would use their weapons to strike back not only at Western Europe but also at the United States.

Our government could use the enormous amount of money saved to do some of these things:

1. Cut our taxes. This means that our government would take less money out of our paychecks than it does today;

2. Spend more money on welfare, social security, hospitals, schools and other programs needed at home;

3. Put the money saved toward ending our national *deficit.* In recent years our government has spent more money than it has raised, and has borrowed money

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deficit: The amount of money a government owes if it spends more money than it takes in during the year. In 1988, the U.S. government had a deficit of $155 billion.

from other places. Borrowing this amount of money each year creates a deficit, which can hurt our economy.

However, if we did choose to build "Star Wars" or other big systems to try to help protect North America from attack, we certainly would not save as much money on defense. The cost of a "Star Wars" defense could run as high as one trillion dollars, which means we might not save any money on defense. We might even have to spend more than we do today.

Future 4 is based on these beliefs:

1. The U.S. can easily defend North America from attack. As long as North America is well-defended there is little the Soviet Union or any other country can do to harm us. We do not need to have troops or weapons stationed around the world to defend North America.

2. Our nuclear weapons can deter the Soviets or any other country from attacking North America. As a result, we don't have to worry about the Soviet Union's nuclear weapons. Since the USSR is not really a threat to us, how we deal with it and how it deals with us are not that important.

3. Domestic problems such as homelessness, unemployment, drug addiction, AIDS, and pollution are the real threats to America's security, not the Soviet Union and its allies. As long as North America is well-defended, we should concentrate on problems at home before dealing with the problems of other countries.

The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death."

-- The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"We are the unwilling working for the unqualified to do the unnecessary for the ungrateful."

– *Thomas K. Bowden,*
U.S. soldier in Vietnam,
in a letter home to his father, 1968

4. The greatest risk of a nuclear war involving the United States comes from putting American troops all over the world. Conflicts in faraway places could draw in our troops, and this in turn could draw us into a nuclear war. Our experiences in Vietnam and other countries have shown how costly it can be for the U.S. to act as the world's policeman.

Last U.S. servicemen to leave Vietnam, April 29, 1975

The Vietnam War, which ended in 1975, was the only war the United States ever lost. The failed attempt to save the Asian country of South Vietnam from the communist North Vietnam cost 58,000 U.S. lives and over $200 billion. In addition, the war became very unpopular at home and among America's European allies. Many Americans believe the experience in Vietnam shows the dangers of becoming entangled in local conflicts in far-off corners of the world.

5. While defending only North America, the U.S. can still cooperate non-militarily, if it wants, and do business around the world. Other countries will still want to work with us. Since we will not consider communism a great threat to North America, we can trade or cooperate more with communist countries if they wish.

What does history show?

According to Future 4 supporters, history shows that our foreign policy has been to defend only North America.

After the Revolutionary War, the United States followed a policy of what George Washington called "splendid isolation." Washington warned against "entangling alliances," and following his guidance, the United States for many decades focused instead on building a powerful industry and settling the frontier.

"U.S. policy in Lebanon had been a catastrophic failure. . . . The Marines had died in vain, but I hoped there was some purpose, some meaningful and enduring reason for their sacrifice. I could think of none."

-- *Michael Petit*, U.S. Marine, on the1983 bombing of Marine Headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon

U.S. Marines carry the body of another Marine

In October 1983, in the war-torn Middle Eastern country of Lebanon, a radical Muslim terrorist drove a truck loaded with explosives into the headquarters of the U.S. Marines, who were part of a multinational peacekeeping force. 241 Marines were killed in the blast. Four months later, President Reagan ordered the Marines to withdraw. In the end, the U.S. forces in Lebanon accomplished very little at a painful cost in lives.

Not until the 20th century did the United States start getting caught up in other nations' problems. But usually it did so only when seriously threatened. For example, the U.S. didn't enter World War I (1914-18) until German submarines started sinking American ships in 1917. And the U.S. didn't enter World War II (1939-45) until the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in 1941.

But when World War II was over, the U.S. didn't return to its isolation. Instead, it pledged to defend the countries of Western Europe from communist aggression. Since then, the U.S. has sent troops to defend many other countries far away from its borders. Sometimes, as in the case of the Vietnam War, the U.S. has even defended unpopular and undemocratic governments. The countries the U.S. has ended up fighting, such as the small Asian country of North Vietnam, have been so far away that they could not

Does Having So Many Allies Make Our Country Safer?

Future 4 supporters say no. They say having so many allies around the world does not make us safer, since we can easily defend North America on our own. They believe having so many allies can easily get us into a nuclear war. For example, we might end up fighting to protect our allies in a war that didn't threaten North America, and this small war might erupt into a global nuclear war.

Hectic trading at the Tokyo Stock Exchange

After they lost World War II, West Germany and Japan lay in ruins. Since they were too weak to defend themselves, the U.S. stepped in to help rebuild their bombed-out factories and bridges and protect them against Soviet aggression. Today, many American factories and bridges are getting run down and need to be rebuilt, but the U.S. still spends billions defending West Germany and Japan, even though they now are America's greatest economic competitors. Many Americans believe that the U.S. should no longer give military aid to West Germany and Japan, since these two rich countries can afford to defend themselves.

possibly have threatened North America. It can't be proven that defending so many countries has made the U.S. more secure. But it is a fact that American military alliances and foreign wars over the past 40 years have cost the U.S. more than a trillion dollars and over 100,000 American lives.

Can this Future work?

Supporters of Future 4 say that their Future has the best chance of working, because it is the only Future that does not depend upon the Soviets acting in a certain way. Future 1 supporters count on the Soviet Union getting weak enough for the U.S. to gain the upper hand. Future 2 supporters and Future 3 supporters count on the Soviets agreeing to eliminate the nuclear threat or cooperating with us -- things which they might not want to do. Future 4 supporters say that in their Future, the U.S. will be able to defend North America, no matter what the Soviets do.

Critics of Future 4 reply that even though this may be true, removing all our troops from the rest of the world might make the Soviets stronger, which in the long run could be risky for America.

What about the rest of the world?

Critics of Future 4 say this Future is dangerous. They say that if we withdraw our troops from the rest of the world, the countries we have been protecting may decide to build nuclear weapons to protect themselves. As time passes, more and more countries might have nuclear weapons, instead of the small number who keep nuclear weapons

How Will Future 4 Handle Our Global Problems?

Future 4 supporters believe they have the best approach for dealing with our many global problems, such as environmental pollution and endangered wildlife. As we turn to focus our attention on problems at home, we will be able to devote more time and energy to cleaning up the environment in and around North America. And of course, we would cooperate with other countries to solve problems affecting the whole world. But we would be careful about giving away our most advanced technological secrets to our economic rivals such as Japan, West Germany, and the Soviet Union.

today. Even if this didn't happen, other powerful countries like Japan might decide to take our place as the "world's policeman" and eventually grow more powerful than we are.

Supporters of Future 4 reply that if other nations want to place their troops around the world and become the world's policeman, that is fine with them. These countries will only be dragged into costly and dangerous wars, just as the U.S. was, and in the long run won't grow any more powerful than the U.S. Supporters also point out that in their Future the U.S. will no longer have to support governments that are opposed to the Soviets but are undemocratic.

Future 4 in perspective

Supporters of Future 4 believe that the U.S. spends too much of its money and effort protecting countries that can protect themselves. They believe that the best way to avoid nuclear war and preserve our values is to defend only North America, and concentrate on the difficult problems we face at home.

IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES AMONG THE FUTURES

As you have discovered, the four Futures are very different from each other. It is time to take a closer look at the major differences between them.

In Future 1, Future 2, and Future 3, our relationship with the Soviets is very important. But supporters of these Futures strongly disagree about how much common ground we share with the Soviets. They also disagree about the whether we should trust them.

FUTURE ONE: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand

People who support Future 1 believe that we have very little common ground with the Soviet Union. The Soviets hope someday to take over the world. Only we can stop them, and we must. When necessary, we can make agreements with them to deal with important global problems like pollution, although this will do nothing to change how we feel about them. Of course, it would be extremely foolish ever to trust them.

FUTURE TWO: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

People who support Future 2 believe that we and the Soviets have one very important area of common ground -- we can reach agreements to eliminate the nuclear threat. But by 2010 we will not be able to fundamentally improve our relationship. As long as we can make sure the Soviets don't cheat on their agreements, we don't have to trust them. When necessary, we can make agreements with the Soviets to deal with important global problems like pollution, although this will do nothing to change how we feel about them.

FUTURE THREE: Cooperative Problem Solving

People who support Future 3 believe that we and the Soviets have several areas of common ground. We share many common problems, such as terrorism and nuclear power plant safety. The superpowers can also work together on many joint projects, such as a Mars mission. The two sides may not trust each other now, but working together on important global problems will build trust. After our two countries come to trust each other, we will finally be able to eliminate most of our weapons and the threat of nuclear war.

FUTURE FOUR: Defend Only North America

People who support Future 4 think differently from supporters of the other Futures, since they don't believe that our relationship with the Soviet Union is very important. As long as we can defend North America from attack, we don't have to worry much about whether we should trust or cooperate with the Soviets. When necessary, we can make agreements with the Soviets to deal with important global problems like pollution, although this will do nothing to change how we feel about them. In any case, our greatest concern is solving problems at home.

Here are some tough questions facing Americans today. Let 's see how supporters of the four different Futures might answer them:	FUTURE 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand	FUTURE 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise
What should be our attitude toward the Soviets?	The Soviet Union is a powerful nation that hopes someday to control the world. Only we can stop them, and we must. They may want to improve relations now, but later they'll turn on us and be an even greater threat than before.	We and the Soviets have been rivals for a long time. But neither of us wants to see the whole world destroyed in a nuclear war. As long as we can make sure they don't cheat on any arms control agreements we sign with them, we don't have to trust them.
What is the greatest threat the U.S. faces today?	The greatest threat we face is Soviet aggression.	The greatest threat we face is the nuclear arms race.
What should be our attitude toward arms control?	In general, arms control is a bad idea. We should not sign any arms control agreements that prevent us from gaining the upper hand. However, we could sign agreements that reduce the number of Soviet weapons, but only if we can be sure they wouldn't cheat.	Arms control is the best way to eliminate the nuclear threat. We and the Soviets should agree to get rid of most of our nuclear weapons, so that a world-destroying nuclear war is impossible. Of course, we should make sure the Soviets wouldn't cheat.
Should we keep our troops around the world to help defend our allies against the Soviets?	We must keep our troops around the world as long as there is a Soviet threat. The U.S. has a political and moral duty to support democracy everywhere.	We should keep our troops and weapons around the world. But at the same time, we should negotiate with the Soviets to reduce the number of our nuclear weapons, as well as our troops, tanks and other weapons.
How should we deal with the communist countries of Eastern Europe?	We should pressure these countries to give up communism and become democratic like we are, even if it means that the people have to rise up against their government. With enough support, these countries would break free from the Soviets and join the West.	We should encourage the governments of these countries to become more democratic and independent from the Soviet Union. But we should agree with the Soviets to act carefully here and in other "hot spots," where there is a major risk of war.
Should we send guns and money to rebels fighting pro-Soviet governments in the Third World?	We should send guns and money to rebels fighting pro-Soviet governments in the Third World, as we did in Afghanistan. We should help out governments on our side -- even if they're not democratic.	We should send guns and money to rebels fighting pro-Soviet governments in the Third World, but only where there is little risk of a superpower war. We should agree with the Soviets to act carefully in "hot spots" like the Middle East, where there is a greater risk of war.
How should we pressure the Soviet Union into allowing their people more democracy and freedoms (like freedom of speech)?	We should refuse to make agreements with the Soviet government until the Soviet people have more democracy and freedoms.	We should pressure the Soviets to allow their people democracy and freedom, but we shouldn't let this issue get in the way of eliminating the nuclear threat.
How should we handle global problems like pollution?	The Soviet Union is a terrible polluter. After we have gained the upper hand, we can force the Soviets to cooperate with the rest of the world in handling global problems like pollution.	Just as we and the Soviets must work together to eliminate the nuclear threat, we must also deal with other threats to our survival, like pollution. But we should never forget that we and the Soviets are rivals.

FUTURE 3: Cooperative Problem Solving

We and the Soviets may disagree about each other's form of government. But by working together on common problems, we can grow to trust each other more and can fundamentally improve our relationship.

The greatest threat we face is that the fear, mistrust, and hostility between the superpowers might lead to war.

Arms control negotiations can't make much progress as long as both sides fear and distrust each other. This is why there have been few agreements so far. When both sides learn to trust each other more, real progress in arms control can be made.

We should still keep our troops around the world to defend our allies against Soviet attack. But as our relationship with the Soviets improves, they will threaten our allies much less.

We should work to improve our relations with these countries by increasing trade with them and by cooperating more with them on common problems. But we should be careful not to do anything that would harm our relationship with them.

We and the Soviets should stop sending guns and money to Third World countries. Instead of trying to overthrow communist governments, the U.S. should do business with them. For example, we should trade with Cuba.

As the Soviets work more closely with Americans, they will see how freedom and democracy have many advantages, and will change their system for the better.

If we and the Soviets pool our technology and work closely to solve these problems, we can solve them more quickly. Even though this may mean losing our high-tech edge, we will gradually build trust.

FUTURE 4: Defend Only North America

As long as we can defend North America from attack, the Soviets cannot threaten us. It doesn't matter if we trust the Soviets or not. It doesn't matter what the Soviet leaders do. Our real problems are at home.

The greatest threat we face is that being involved in other people's problems all around the world might drag us into a global war.

We can defend North America with or without arms control. However, arms control agreements with the Soviets could save us money, since we would not have to spend as much on nuclear arms if the Soviets had fewer weapons.

We should gradually remove all of our troops from the world and end our alliances with all countries except our neighbors, Canada and Mexico. Our former allies can defend themselves against the Soviets or make peace with them.

We hope that Eastern Europe will become more democratic and independent, but it is up to them to make these changes, not us. Of course, we should trade more with these countries if it would help our economy.

We should stop sending guns and money to Third World countries. We should leave nearby pro-Soviet countries like Cuba and Nicaragua alone, unless they threatened the United States in some way.

We should sharply criticize the Soviets for not allowing their people democracy and freedom, but do nothing else.

The U.S. should do its part in handling global problems like pollution, especially in and around North America. But our main focus should be on problems at home.

Below are some important events in U.S. history. The same events appear on your timeline on pages 14 and 15. What should we learn from events today? Let's see how supporters of the four different Futures interpret them.

	FUTURE 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand	FUTURE 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise
1949: NATO military alliance forms	The forming of NATO prevented the Soviets from taking over Western Europe. The U.S. should take the lead in NATO as long as there is a Soviet threat.	The forming of NATO prevented the Soviets from taking over Western Europe. But it also helped make Europe a "hot spot." The U.S. should stay in NATO, but try to eliminate the nuclear threat in Europe.
1961: The building of the Berlin Wall	The building of the Berlin Wall shows that the Soviets and their allies are the enemies of freedom. We should not make peace with the Soviet government until it tears down the Wall and allows East Germans to go freely to West Berlin.	The building of the Berlin Wall reminds us that the Soviets and their allies are the enemies of freedom. The Cold War will continue as long as the Berlin Wall stands. But this doesn't mean we and the Soviets shouldn't try together to eliminate the nuclear threat.
1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis	The Cuban Missile Crisis shows that if the U.S. stands up to the Soviets, they will back down. However, Cuba remains a menace. We should try to weaken or perhaps even overthrow its pro-Soviet government.	The Cuban Missile Crisis showed how close the superpowers could come to a nuclear war. Although we should stop the spread of communism around the world, we and the Soviets must work to prevent this kind of crisis from happening again.
1964-1973: U.S. troops fight in the Vietnam War	Our involvement in Vietnam was a brave attempt to save our ally, South Vietnam, from communism. If we had fought harder, we might have won the war. Vietnam, now a Soviet ally, remains an enemy.	Our involvement in Vietnam was a brave attempt to preserve democracy. But our defeat in Vietnam shows that although we must fight the spread of communism in the Third World, we must be more careful how we go about it.
1972: U.S. and communist China work successfully to improve their relationship	In order to gain the upper hand over the Soviets, we may have to work together with other countries, even communist countries like China.	Improving our relations with communist China helped us compete with the Soviets, since China is not a Soviet ally. As we and the Soviets eliminate most of our nuclear weapons, we should work with China to eliminate theirs.
1972: U.S. and Soviet leaders agree to a policy of "détente," which later fails	The détente policy failed when we realized the Soviets were taking advantage of our desire for peace by building more nuclear weapons and growing more powerful in the Third World.	The détente policy failed because the two sides expected reduced tension to lead to better relations. Now that both sides know better, they can sucessfully work to eliminate the nuclear threat.
1979: Soviet troops invade Afghanistan	The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan proves that the Soviets are aggressive and power-hungry. Providing guns and money to Afghan freedom fighters was a great idea, since it made the Soviets eventually withdraw.	The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan reminds us that the Soviets are a threat. Arming the Afghan rebels was a good idea, since it made the Soviets withdraw. But no matter what they do in the Third World, we must also work with them to eliminate the nuclear threat.
1987: Superpowers sign the INF Treaty	The removal of Soviet nuclear weapons from Europe was a good idea, but the removal of American missiles was a bad one.	The INF Treaty was a good first step in eliminating the nuclear threat. The superpowers should now work to eliminate more and more of their nuclear weapons.

FUTURE 3: Cooperative Problem Solving

The forming of NATO and the Warsaw Pact showed how quickly the trust between the two sides faded after they had stopped working together to defeat Germany in 1945. We should still stay in NATO, but work together with Warsaw Pact countries to build trust.

The building of the Berlin Wall shows how deeply the Cold War has divided Europe. As relations between the two sides improve, the walls between them will gradually fall.

The Cuban Missile Crisis showed how superpower rivalry might destroy the world. To help build trust and improve our relationship with Cuba and other communist countries, we should trade with them instead of threatening them.

Our involvement in Vietnam shows that fighting communism doesn't make the world safer. Instead of attacking Soviet allies like Vietnam, we should do business with them.

If the U.S. was able to improve its relations with communist China, then we can certainly improve our relations with the Soviet Union too. The superpowers can build trust by cooperating on common interests, just as the U.S. and China did.

The détente policy and its failure show that it is impossible for the superpowers to reduce tension produced by the Cold War without ending the Cold War altogether.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the increased tensions it caused show that the superpowers must stop competing in the Third World if we want to reduce the threat of nuclear war.

The INF Treaty was a step in the right direction, but it only cut a tiny fraction of the total number of weapons the superpowers have. Improved relations will make bigger arms control agreements possible.

FUTURE 4: Defend Only North America

The forming of NATO prevented the Soviets from trying to take over Western Europe. U.S. assistance was necessary to get the war-torn democracies of Western Europe back on their feet. Now that this is done, the U.S. should leave NATO.

The building of the Berlin Wall shows that the Soviets and their allies are the enemies of freedom. But the Wall does not threaten our country. We should criticize the Soviets and their allies for building the Wall and keeping it up, but do nothing else.

The Cuban Missile Crisis taught the Soviets and other countries a valuable lesson: that the U.S. will not allow North America to be threatened.

Our involvement in Vietnam shows how stupid, expensive, and dangerous it is for the U.S. to get involved in conflicts in faraway countries. North Vietnam never threatened the North America, and doesn't today.

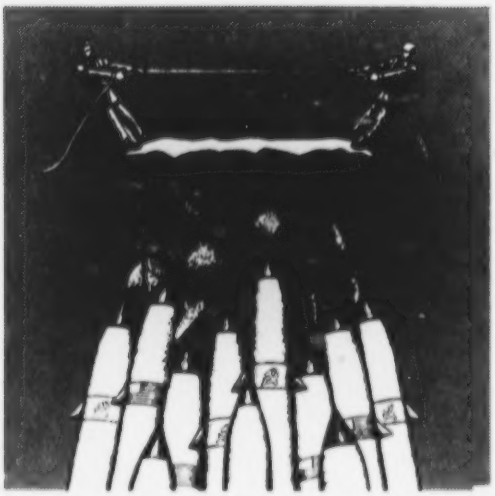
Improving our relations with communist China was a good idea, but it didn't make the U.S. safer. China has never really threatened North America to begin with, but increasing trade with that country has helped our economy.

The détente policy and its failure show that we shouldn't expect the Soviets to act the way we want them to. Whether the Soviets are peaceful or warlike doesn't concern us as long as North America is well-protected.

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was a terrible thing, but it never threatened the U.S. In fact, it turned out to be as bad an idea for them as getting involved in the Vietnam War was for us.

Since the INF Treaty removed nuclear weapons only from Europe, it didn't really make us any safer.

Future 1
The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand



Future 2
Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

BEFORE YOU VOTE

Now that you've read each of the four Futures, ask yourself these four questions before you decide which Future the U.S. should head toward:

1. Which Future best addressed my concerns about nuclear war?
2. Which Future best addressed my concerns about the Soviets?
3. Which Future would best preserve American values, such as democracy and freedom?
4. Could the Future that I like really happen?

Future 3
Cooperative Problem Solving

Future 4
Defend Only North America

CAN YOU THINK OF A "FUTURE 5"?

You have now seen four different Futures of the U.S. in the year 2010. In all of them, we have avoided nuclear war and have preserved our American values.

Of course, there other possibilities for the U.S. as it approaches the 21st Century. Perhaps the kind of Future **you** think America should work toward is similar to one of the four you have seen. Perhaps it is a combination of two or more of the Futures. Perhaps it is a different kind of Future altogether.

We encourage you to figure out what kind of Future you would like our country to work toward. However, coming up with a "Future 5" is not as easy as it might seem. You can use your imagination, but you must also be realistic. To help you come up with a good Future 5, keep these rules in mind:

1. *We must avoid nuclear war.* A nuclear war would destroy America.

2. *We must preserve American values.* Whatever Future we decide to follow must preserve our democracy and the freedoms that our way of life is built upon.

3. *We can't expect unbelievable things to happen.* We can't expect the leaders of the world to decide to get rid of all weapons immediately. Aliens won't land on earth to stop all wars. And we can't count on inventing a machine that will make us completely safe.

4. *Big projects cost big money.* If in the future we choose to spend lots of money on more weapons or new projects, it means we will be less able to spend money on other things we may want (or we will go even further into debt).

5. *We have to take other countries into account.* Whatever you decide to do in your Future, you must realize that other countries may or may not like it. After you have considered how they might react, then you can decide whether or not you should change your Future to take their possible reactions into account.

6. *We can't strongly compete and strongly cooperate with a country at the same time.* For example, we can't try to overthrow the Soviet government while at the same time sharing our advanced technology with them to help solve common problems. In other words, you cannot combine most parts of Future 1 with parts of Future 3.

7. *You must take into account everything that you think threatens the U.S.* For example, if you believe that the Soviets threaten us but that nuclear war threatens us even more, you can't make a Future 5 that only deals with the nuclear threat and forgets about the Soviets. If you think both threats are real and important, you have to deal with both of them in some way. In your Future 5, you must address whatever threats you feel are important.

Finally, as you think about what kind of Future you think our country should work toward, keep in mind that no Future is perfect. Any important set of goals for the U.S. will have both supporters and critics.

As you develop your Future 5, ask yourself the same questions you asked about the four Futures. What are the good and bad points about your Future? What would we have to do today in order to get there? How much would it cost? How do you think the Soviets would react to it? What about our allies and Third World countries? Is your Future realistic?

Good luck!

GLOSSARY

Afghanistan

Afghanistan: A south Asian nation bordering the Soviet Union. In 1979, Soviet troops invaded Afghanistan and set up a pro-Soviet government. The U.S. has provided guns and money to Afghan rebel forces who have been trying to overthrow the government. In early 1989, the Soviets withdrew their troops from Afghanistan.

allies: Nations that have pledged to protect each other if attacked or threatened.

arms control agreements: Agreements in which two or more countries reduce their number of weapons or set limits on how many more weapons they can have.

Berlin: The capital of *Germany* before World War II. After the war, Berlin was divided into two sections: East Berlin and West Berlin. East Berlin is the capital of the communist country of East Germany. West Berlin belongs to the democratic country of West Germany even though the city is located in the middle of East Germany.

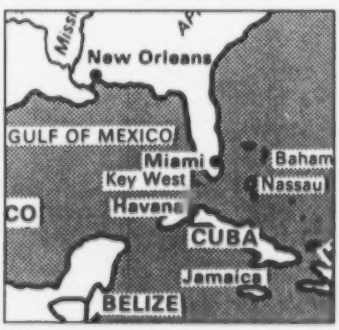
capitalism: An economic system based on private ownership of business, industry and property. The U.S. and most of its allies are capitalist.

China

China: The People's Republic of China, the largest and most populous country in Southeast Asia, with over one billion people. Although China has had a communist government since 1949, it is not an ally of the Soviet Union.

Cold War: The hostile competition between the U.S. and the Soviet Union that started after World War II. It is "cold" because the two sides have never actually fought each other.

communism: A system in which a country's government controls most industry and business, and owns most property. The Soviet Union is controlled by the Communist Party, which supports this system.



Cuba

Contras: Anti-communist rebels who have been supported by the United States in their fight against the pro-Soviet government of *Nicaragua*.

conventional weapons: Weapons that do not involve nuclear explosions, including tanks, guns, planes, and ships.

Cuban Missile Crisis: In October 1962, the U.S. discovered that the Soviets had secretly placed nuclear missiles in Cuba, an island only 90 miles off the Florida coast. President Kennedy demanded that the missiles be removed. For days, a nuclear war seemed quite possible, but Kennedy remained firm, and the Soviets finally removed the missiles.

deficit: The amount of money a government owes if it spends more money than it takes in during the year. In 1988, the U.S. government had a deficit of $155 billion.

democracy: A system in which the citizens of a country control their government by electing representatives and a chief executive. The United States and many of its allies are democracies.

détente ("day-TAHNT"): The policy that the superpowers followed in the 1970s to reduce tensions produced by the *Cold War.*

deterrence: A nuclear strategy in which one nation tries to prevent another nation from attacking by having enough nuclear weapons to destroy the other country. The threat to strike back with nuclear weapons *deters* the other country from attacking.

dictatorship: An undemocratic government in which the country's leader, or "dictator," has absolute power.

East: In politics, refers to the Soviet Union and its communist allies.

Eastern Bloc: The group of European countries that lies to the west of the Soviet Union. These nations -- Hungary, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland, Rumania, and Bulgaria -- have been strongly influenced by the Soviet Union since the end of World War II, and are all *Warsaw Pact* members.

Germany: A nation in Western Europe divided since World War II into two separate countries: democratic West Germany (a U.S. ally) and communist East Germany (a Soviet ally).

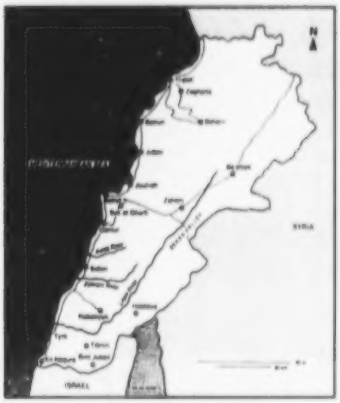
glasnost ("GLAHS-nost"): A Russian word meaning "openness" or "publicity" which has become the name for some of the policies of the new Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev. More freedom of speech and of the press, greater tolerance of criticism of the government, fewer restrictions on letting people leave the country, and greater acceptance of *Western* products and ideas are all part of glasnost.

East and West Germany

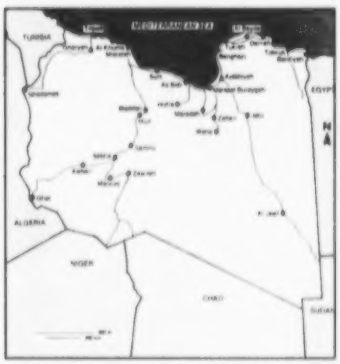
"greenhouse effect": The gradual global warming of the earth's climate. Air pollution by cars, fires, and industry has generated excess carbon dioxide gas that traps the sun's rays like a greenhouse, gradually heating up the earth's atmosphere.

Grenada: A small Caribbean island nation. In 1983, after a pro-communist group had taken over the government, U.S. troops invaded the island and a democratic pro-U.S. government took control.

"hot spots": Areas of the world where tensions between the U.S. and Soviet Union are so high that there is a dangerous chance of a small crisis erupting into a global war. These areas include Europe, the *Middle East,* and *Korea.*



Lebanon



Libya

INF Treaty: The Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces Treaty, signed by the superpowers in December 1987, which eliminated 859 U.S. and 1,941 Soviet nuclear weapons from Europe.

Korea: A *"hot spot"* in East Asia. Since the Korean War (1950- 53), Korea has been divided into South Korea (a U.S. ally) and communist North Korea. The U.S. has stationed 45,000 troops in South Korea.

Lebanon: A small war-torn country in the *Middle East,* between Israel and Syria.

Libya: A country in North Africa, ruled by Colonel Mohammar Qaddaffi. In 1986 U.S. fighter planes bombed Tripoli, the Libyan capital, after the U.S. had accused Qaddaffi of supporting terrorist attacks on U.S. soldiers in Europe.

Middle East: A region including the countries of southwestern Asia and northeastern Africa. Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Israel, *Libya,* and *Lebanon* are some of the countries in the Middle East.

missile: A rocket that carries a bomb.

NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, a military alliance formed in 1949 to defend Western Europe against the Soviet Union and its allies. NATO members include the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Norway, Spain, and six other European nations.

Nicaragua: A Central American nation that has been led by the Sandinista government since 1979, which the Soviet Union supports and which the U.S. opposes.

nuclear energy: Energy released by the splitting of radioactive atoms such as uranium. In nuclear power plants, this powerful form of energy can be harnessed to make electricity. In *nuclear weapons,* this energy is released in a massive explosion.

nuclear weapons: The most powerful weapons ever made, invented by the U.S. in 1945. The splitting of radioactive atoms in an exploding nuclear weapon releases an enormous blast of energy that shatters buildings, starts fire over a large area, and showers an even larger area with radioactive particles, or "fallout." The U.S. and the Soviet Union have over 25,000 nuclear weapons each, enough to destroy the world many times over. The two sides keep their nuclear weapons in bomber airplanes, in missiles stored above and underground, and on submarines and ships at sea.

perestroika ("pear-eh-STROY-ka"): A Russian word meaning "restructuring," which has become the name for Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's plans to improve the Soviet economy.

Persian Gulf: A body of water in the *Middle East*, an area of the world considered a *"hot spot."* Countries around the Persian Gulf include Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and Kuwait.

Russia: Commonly refers to the *Soviet Union.* Russia was a country in Eastern Europe and Asia, taken over in 1917 by communists who then renamed it the Soviet Union. However, the Soviet Union today covers a larger area than pre-Soviet Russia.

SDI: The Strategic Defense Initiative. See *"Star Wars."*

Soviet Union: Also known as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or the USSR, the Soviet Union was founded by communists in 1917 shortly after the Russian ruler, Tsar Nicholas II, was overthrown. After World War II, it became a *superpower* with the United States. Stretching across eleven time zones, it is the largest country on earth, and has a population of 285,000,000.

spy satellites: Extremely powerful cameras placed in outer space by one nation to see what another nation is doing.

"Star Wars": Also known as the Strategic Defense Initiative (or SDI), a controversial plan proposed by President Reagan in 1983 to research ways of shooting down incoming enemy nuclear missiles from outer space if the U.S. is under attack.

summit: An official meeting between the leaders of two or more countries.

superpowers: Refers to the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Third World: A name given to most of the nations of Africa, Asia, and South and Central America. The United States and the Soviet Union have been competing for influence in these countries for decades, although most are now friendly with the U.S. Many Third World countries are extremely poor. Many also have undemocratic governments.

United Nations: An international organization chartered in 1945 to promote world peace, security and cooperation. Almost all nations have representatives to the U.N. At its world headquarters in New York City, the U.N. coordinates international cooperation on many issues, such as hunger, disease and the environment.

USSR: The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. See *Soviet Union.*

Vietnam War: The war between South Vietnam and communist North Vietnam that began in the 1950s. The United States sent its troops to help the South Vietnamese from 1964 until 1973. North Vietnam defeated South Vietnam in 1975. Today, all of Vietnam is communist.

Warsaw Pact: A military alliance formed in 1955 between the Soviet Union and its six Eastern European allies, which include East Germany, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, and Bulgaria.

West: In politics, refers to the United States and its allies.

Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics

Vietnam before the end of the war

THE FOUR FUTURES AT A GLANCE

FUTURE 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand

It is 2010. Americans have recognized that no matter how the Soviets act today, they hope to control the world someday. We now know that the only way freedom and democracy can survive is for us to come out on top, which means building an unbeatable lead in weapons. We have done that, and now our work is paying off. Militarily and economically, we are much stronger than the Soviets. Many countries in the Third World that were friendly to the Soviets have now joined our side. We have put so much pressure on the Soviet government that it may soon fall apart. Even if it doesn't, the Soviets have lost power all around the world, and will no longer give us much trouble.

FUTURE 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

It is 2010. We and the Soviets now understand that no matter how much we dislike each other, both sides would lose everything in a nuclear war. To prevent a nuclear war from ever happening, we and the Soviets have agreed to get rid of almost all of our nuclear weapons (making sure, of course, that the Soviets don't cheat). Plus, we have made agreements with the Soviets to make sure that a crisis in a "hot spot" such as the Middle East doesn't drag the superpowers into a global war. We still dislike the Soviets and give weapons and money to people opposing them in many parts of the world. But now we and the Soviets have made sure the world can't be destroyed by a nuclear war.

FUTURE 3: Cooperative Problem Solving

It is 2010. We and the Soviets have been able to fundamentally improve our relationship. We now know that the only way for both sides to get rid of nuclear weapons is to learn to stop fearing and distrusting each other. By now, our attitude toward the Soviet Union is like our attitude toward communist China -- we're not friends, but we're not enemies either. We and the Soviets are cooperating on problems such as stopping terrorism and pollution. To build trust, we have shared with them our knowledge of computers and other advanced technology and we have accepted that they may always be communist. But this is a small price to pay for our new, peaceful relationship.

FUTURE 4: Defend Only North America

It is 2010. Americans have recognized that the main threat to our future is not the Soviets. The real problems are in our own country, like unemployment, homelessness, and AIDS. We have stopped worrying about the Soviets and no longer send our troops around the world. We have also gradually pulled all our troops out of Western Europe, and don't have any more allies except our neighbors, Canada and Mexico. We don't really care what Moscow does anymore. But we are strongly defending North America, and may have also built a "Star Wars" defense in space to shoot down incoming nuclear missiles if we are attacked.

WHAT WOULD WE DO IN THE 90s TO HEAD TOWARD EACH FUTURE?

FUTURE 1: The U.S. Gains the Upper Hand

1. Build up our nuclear and conventional weapons until we have far more than the Soviets. Invent new weapons that are more powerful than theirs.
2. Research ways of protecting the U.S. from nuclear attack with the "Star Wars" plan to shoot down incoming nuclear missiles if we are attacked. Build a "Star Wars" defense if it is worth the cost.
3. *Don't* sign any arms control agreements that would make us weak.
4. Try to weaken Soviet influence in Eastern Europe and the Third World. Give weapons and money to people trying to overthrow pro-Soviet governments around the world.

How much would it cost? Probably a lot. For the U.S. to pay for the weapons, we would have to pay more taxes or borrow money from other countries. Future 1 supporters say it is worth the price.

FUTURE 2: Eliminate the Nuclear Threat; Compete Otherwise

1. Negotiate with the Soviets to eliminate most nuclear weapons (with agreements to guard against cheating).
2. Negotiate with the Soviets to cut the number of troops, tanks and other weapons.
3. Negotiate with the Soviets to make sure that a crisis in a "hot spot" can't grow into a superpower war.
4. Give weapons and money to people fighting Soviet influence around the world, but only where the risk of a superpower war is very low.

How much would it cost? It depends. Not making any more nuclear weapons would save us money. But if we and the Soviets can't agree to cut troops and tanks, we might spend even more building up ours to match the Soviets. If we agree to cuts, we can spend less on defense.

FUTURE 3: Cooperative Problem Solving

1. Share our advanced technology with the Soviets to address common problems such as terrorism and the spread of nuclear weapons to other countries. Work just as closely on global problems like pollution.
2. When there is greater trust, negotiate arms control agreements with the Soviets (with agreements to guard against cheating).
3. Agree with the Soviets to slowly pull out both countries' troops from the Third World and to stop fighting each other there.
4. Increase trade with the Soviets and other communist countries such as Cuba.

How much would it cost? Eventually less. When both sides trust each other enough to start cutting weapons and troops, we won't have to spend as much money on defense.

FUTURE 4: Defend Only North America

1. Tell our allies (except Canada and Mexico) that we plan to gradually remove our troops from their countries.
2. Refocus our attention on concerns at home such as unemployment, homelessness, AIDS, drug abuse, and the environment.
3. Keep plenty of nuclear weapons to discourage other countries from attacking us for fear we will then strike back.
4. Research ways of protecting the U.S. from nuclear attack through the "Star Wars" plan to shoot down incoming nuclear missiles if we are attacked. Build a "Star Wars" defense if it is worth the cost.

How much would it cost? It depends. Pulling our troops out of the rest of the world would save a lot of money. But a big "Star Wars" program could eat up those savings.

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